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The Dual Voices of the Civil Rights Movement: The Heroic Narratives of Martin Luther King, Jr. And Malcolm X.

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**THE DUAL VOICES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT:
THE HEROIC NARRATIVES OF
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. AND MALCOLM X**

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

in

The Department of Speech Communication

by

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ABSTRACT

Since reconstruction African-American leaders have embodied conflicting aspirations. While some leaders like Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglass urged complete assimilation, others like W. E. B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey have preached autonomy and separation. These leaders have tended to serve as icons for rival programs; their rhetoric as authoritative, and their lives as inspired models for future leaders.

This dissertation examines the hagiography of the two most famous leaders of the late 20th century, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. It argues that their rhetoric was undergirded by the myth of the heroic quest and that their lives and works embodied variations of this common narrative.

A tri-part method was used. First, overt meanings of the texts were explored. Secondly, variants of the mythic quest were isolated. Third, the method explores the moral order of the myths by isolating metaphoric clusters emerging within the discourse.

In order to examine the messages of King and Malcolm X, seven speeches of each man were analyzed. The speeches given by King are "Give Us the Ballot-We Will Transform the South," "I Have a Dream," "Eulogy for the Martyred Children," "Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech," "Our God Is Marching On!" "A Time to Break Silence," and "I See the Promised Land." The speeches given by Malcolm X are "Message to the Grass Roots,"

"The Ballot or the Bullet," "The Black Revolution," "The Harlem 'Hate Gang' Scare," "At the Audobon" on December 13, 1964, "With Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer," and "Prospects for Freedom in 1965."

Examination of the core texts revealed unexpected similarities between the two messages. The moral vision of nonviolence created a sense of difference between groups as they negotiated the terms of assimilation. Disillusionment with integration was a function of King's message at least two years before his death when he began a rhythmic denunciation of Western civilization. Malcolm X made late overtures to integrate. Time and events will further this merger until both icons are nearly emptied of specific content.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The modern civil rights movement, a struggle rooted in slavery, reached its peak during the 1960s. Although movement leadership was pluralistic and diverse in means, ends, and goals, two highly visible programs for racial equality dominated public consciousness. One program aimed at complete integration through nonviolent protest. The other program focused on autonomy through African-American economic and cultural independence. Together these groups defined the spectrum of the freedom struggle during the 1960s. The most noted leader of the nonviolent assimilationist group was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He was the spokesman for a huge coalition of groups that accepted his rhetoric, tactics, and philosophy. The most extreme contrast to King's doctrine of nonviolence emerged in the form of Black Power advocates. Unlike King's Southern coalition, they came from the primarily urban and secular background of the African-American ghetto. Among the important representatives of this movement were Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, and Stokely Carmichael. The teachings of Malcolm X provided a significant portion of both the logic and the rhetoric of this militancy.

The Movement: Failure and Success

Although the civil rights movement that took place during the 1950s and 1960s contained contrasting voices and

contrasting messages, such as those of King and Malcolm X, it was one of the most successful social movements in American history. The early civil rights movement won the initial campaigns of 1964-65, securing the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. The movement also integrated restaurants, hotels, schools, and other public facilities (Graham, 1990).

The 1960s brought about massive changes for race relations in America. The African-American civil rights movement destroyed the legal underpinnings of the biracial caste system in America. Judged on its original goal of creating legal access, the civil rights movement stands out as a rare and stunning achievement. In a little over a decade, the combination of an African-American social movement and government reformers had destroyed legal barriers to integration, destroyed legalized discrimination against minority groups, dramatically increased the number of franchised African Americans, and achieved the legal rights guaranteed to African Americans under the constitution (Graham, 1990).

During the social revolution of the 1960s, African Americans made substantial gains in political participation, education, and economic opportunity. First, African Americans gained power in the political arena. Segregationist politicians like Ross Barnett of Mississippi disappeared, and others like George Wallace of Alabama were

forced to adjust to a changing political climate and to court African-American voters. African Americans also made gains in education. The median number of school years for African Americans increased from 10.7 in 1960 to 12.7 in 1972. African-American college attendance increased from 234,000 in 1963 to 1.1 million in 1977. African Americans also made economic gains during the civil rights movement. The number of African Americans living in poverty declined from 55 percent in 1959 to less than 34 percent in 1970. Income for African-American families increased 109 percent during the 1960s. This raised the average African-American family income from 48 percent of white earnings in 1960 to 61 percent of white earnings in 1970. By 1970 the difference in earning power between white and African-American women had virtually disappeared. (Graham, 1990).

The civil rights movement did bring progress to African Americans. During the decade from 1954 to 1964, Congress enacted new civil rights laws. Segregation in buses and railroads ended. African-American political power sharply increased, and the conscience of America was awakened (Lewis, 1965).

Although the civil rights movement was undoubtedly a success, some argue that the civil rights movement of the 1960s was successful in removing the legal foundation of racism in America, but the reforms did little for the impoverished African-American masses. Further these same

persons argue that even African-American political success in the 1960s has not brought about substantial material improvement. These persons view the 1960s as a kind of second reconstruction era bringing about important changes for African Americans in the areas of education and political participation, which must now be followed by a third movement concentrating on economic gains (Graham, 1990).

Essentially, equality of opportunity for both African Americans and whites has not produced equality of condition. Civil Rights advocates innocently supposed that equal access and equal opportunity would be enough to produce significant social and economic equality between African Americans and whites. This was because the Southern system of segregation was already tottering. Through direct simple dramatic action integration could be achieved; and once achieved, the results could be easily seen. Either African Americans could enter through the front door of a restaurant and be served, or they could not. The effect was highly visible, collective, and tangible. Economic mobility proved difficult in a system based on individual achievement rather than collective democratic entitlement. While a growing African-American professional class made spectacular gains, the masses did not substantially benefit from increased access.

Leadership

As this struggle continues, the legacy of the leaders of the 1960s civil rights movement haunts the African-American

spokesman of the 1990s. Just as America's political leaders call upon the ideas of their founding fathers for support, so do African-American leaders call upon the ideas of the founders of nonviolent protest and Black Power advocates. At least in retrospect these two paths to equality appear most clearly represented by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X.

Malcolm X and the Black Power advocates urged the use of violence as a method of self-defense. Defense was almost always the context when Black Power advocates spoke of guns, revolution, and violence. The Black Power advocates viewed the ghetto as a colony and the white power structure as oppressive colonizers (Scott, 1968A).

Malcolm X in particular articulated a view of African Americans not as part of America but rather as members of an American colony. The violent threats of the Black Power movement can be seen in the writings and speeches of a number of African-American radicals, such as Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, John Hulett, Harry Edwards, Herman B. Ferguson, Fred Brooks, and others. Examination of the rhetorical strategies of these rhetors illustrates that these speakers felt justified in advocating the use of violence. In representing this view, Malcolm X's rhetoric was forthright, and he was often criticized as a dangerous radical (Campbell, 1971).

Malcolm X articulated a view of African Americans not as Americans but as a foreign people being subjected to colonial rule at the hands of the American government. Malcolm X's goals and values were consistent with those of a revolutionary advocating either outright overthrow of the government or a formal relinquishing of its authority over African Americans. Unlike King, Malcolm X's dream could not be subsumed under the American dream.

On the other end of the spectrum in the civil rights movement stood King, who articulated a belief that violence was never justified. He never spoke of violent defense, and his message emphasized nonviolent resistance. King also very clearly articulated the view that African Americans were very much a part of America, and the African-American dream was essentially a fulfillment of the American dream. King presented the doctrine of passive resistance as a method of appealing to the humanity of whites to grant equality to African Americans. King's goals and messages were not inconsistent with traditional American values.

King and Malcolm X were representative spokesmen for each of these two views, during the 1960s, but in a sense these are transhistorical for their divergent paths have won followers since Emancipation. Although we are able to contextualize the messages of King and Malcolm X within their proper historical era, they seem more like agents or custodians than the originators of these messages. King and

Malcolm X carried a long established dialogue within the confines of a new civil rights movement. In a sense Malcolm X's message resonated only because King had already unified and mobilized the African-American community, but King's message was also defined by the separatist voice. While King articulated the basic goodness of human beings as a fundamental axiom, Malcolm X often asserted duplicity and violence as human characteristics. They were both dialectic and complementary. Despite the pervasive differences in message and tactics, over time the men and their messages seem to have converged. While the methods of the two have been described as contrasting, the American culture of the 1990s articulates a belief that the two were striving for essentially the same goals. While the basic differences in the philosophy of King and Malcolm X are apparent, there remains perplexity and confusion regarding the complex similarities and differences between the two great spokesmen.

The height of the civil rights movement was the era of King's famous March on Washington, the setting for his "Letter From Birmingham Jail," and his nonviolent demonstrations in numerous Southern cities. It was also the time of Malcolm X's ultimatum to Americans demanding, "the ballot or the bullet," as well as his threats of violence if African Americans did not receive freedom and equality. Finally, It was also the era of the assassination of both men.

Legacy

It is a truism that during the 1980s the civil rights movement lost coherence and direction. Old line institutions such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People continued their legal struggle, and the justice department continued to offer assistance in matters involving discriminatory practices, but for the masses the movement that had sounded the clarion call of the 1960s seemed nearly moribund. Many factors contributed to this change. New minorities had emerged with new agendas. A substantial African-American middle class had emerged; the new economic individualism rendered the group tactics of the old movement less effective because integration had brought less genuine access to resources and economic equality than earlier leaders had supposed. Disillusionment had grown. A new generation who no longer remembered the indignity of segregation had begun to view the struggle as an historical event. Former white allies had grown indifferent, cynical, and even hostile. The modern spokesman for civil rights has become embattled.

A cacophony of voices drowns any single message; fragmented audiences and cries for cultural diversity make coherent mass action nearly impossible. Choices that were once clear are blurred. Dr. Martin Luther King and Malcolm X appear on the same T shirts and memorabilia. They are honored on the same programs. Despite the frequency of

sensational news about racial confrontation, the historical background of racial matters is seldom reported in the public media. The rhetoric of race has become reactive.

The purpose of this investigation is to examine the "core texts" of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X in order to understand something about the complexity of the rhetorical situation for the contemporary civil rights spokesman. It is hoped that an understanding of these "core texts" will reveal much about the constraints faced by the speaker, the sites of the struggle, the choice of tactics, and the possible alliances. As every rhetorician knows, bodies, objects, sites, and strategies do not possess fixed meanings. They acquire them. And as time goes by, these acquired meanings are "contested" in societal and moral space. Thus, this study seeks not only to examine the messages of King and Malcolm X within the social context of the civil rights movement, but to unearth the master narrative emerging for each rhetor. King and Malcolm X will be viewed as the iconic figures that gave the civil rights movement its original form. Earlier critics tended to treat their voices as polar opposites, on separate ends of a continuum: one representing nonviolence, the other representing violence. In stark contrast to this, popular culture now seems to see them as articulating a similar message, unity and pride. Their images are appealed to, and they are presented as the spokesmen for a variety of African-American points of view.

For African Americans they have achieved the status of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. In short they have become powerful pieces of American mythology. As these two men have been mythologized, perhaps there has been a tendency not to criticize the message of each rhetor as the rhetorical critic would analyze discourse produced by other rhetors. As their legacy is edited to slogans, critics fall silent. Yet, such criticism is undoubtedly important because of the historical importance and potential for reanimation of the message of these leaders.

Method

The method will consist of three parts. First, it will explore the surface of the texts with explicit questioning. Secondly, it will explore the myth evoked by the texts as a variant of the timeless myth of the hero's quest. Joseph Campbell (1949) asserts that hero myths begin in separation when the hero leaves family and community for a journey into the darkness. Here the hero faces a series of tests such as riddles, conflicts, or captivities and eventually emerges triumphant to receive great gifts. However, the hero transcends personal ambition and returns home to share gifts with those most in need. The deep structure of the text will be analyzed to unearth the hero's adventure emerging within the text. Modern myth critics assert that the myth gains its rhetorical force from simplifying experience into a series of contrasting good and evil persons, issues and options.

Accordingly, the method will explore the structure of the text using Robert Ivie's method of cluster analysis. Ivie (1974, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1987) explores the latent or mythic meaning of a text by looking at two patterns of metaphor: clusters and agons. Clusters are patterns of associated metaphors that run throughout a text. Agons are sets of opposed metaphors. Clusters give a text a sense of affirmation of value. Agons define the antithetical moral universe; they give a text a sense of struggle and moral mission. Their appropriation by an audience gives a message its moral force and organizing power.

While no single study could account for the complete legacy of the King and Malcolm X core texts, this study will make a beginning. To summarize, analysis will proceed in four movements. First, the study will look at the overt relationship between speaker and constituency. Core texts of each rhetor will be queried according to the following questions.

What is the basic orientation (assimilationist or segregationist) of both men? How effective are the rival messages? What hierarchical tensions emerge in the speaking of both men? How does this hierarchical tension serve to define various relationships between African Americans and other groups? Specifically, what is the relationship between African Americans and government? What is the relationship between African Americans and mainline institutions? What

is the relationship between African Americans and the world? What is the relationship between African Americans and America?

Secondly, the study will examine the mythic structure of each text. What authority and order do the competing texts invoke and evoke? Why did these particular messages emerge from among the many competing voices on civil rights to capture the public imagination? What competing voices do they mute or ignore?

Thirdly, the study will examine how these fragments form a unified text? The relationship between texts, context, and fragmentation has been addressed by McGee (1990). What are their limitations and contradictions? What thought patterns does each message discourage and encourage? What is the legacy of each man's speaking? What constraints does this legacy place on contemporary spokesmen for civil rights? What is the future of civil rights discourse? In brief, what does an informed assessment of the meaning and potency of these speakers tell us about the contemporary rhetorical situation?

Finally, because of the ambivalent nature of race relations in the United States, these texts will then be scrutinized using the cluster/agon method. The charting of key metaphors may reveal an orientation different from the explicit question. This will give the study, depth, subtlety, and nuance.

Review of Literature

The review of literature will include studies dealing with King's rhetoric and studies dealing with Malcolm X's rhetoric. Many of the studies dealing with King's rhetoric focus on the "I Have a Dream" speech. Alexandra Alvarez (1988) studied the speech as a text with characteristics of an African-American Baptist sermon, including, the dialogue form, its formalism, and the use of common knowledge and figures of speech. She argued that the speech event itself was metaphorical in nature, signaling political protest. The speech was shown to be a dialogue in which Martin Luther King, Jr., and the audience fall into the category of sender. The addressee was the Congress of the United States, as representative of the nation. Keith Miller's (1989) study attributed the influence of the African-American folk preaching tradition as the reason for the success and persuasiveness of "I Have a Dream." Miller argued that King's persuasiveness stemmed from the typological epistemology of the African-American folk pulpit. Cox (1989) examined the speech as addressing public time or the sense of timing in social change. In examining the speech Hariman, (1989) argued that King's reason for speaking resulted not from a sense of urgency to bring about social change but rather from the struggle for leadership that was occurring in the civil rights movement. Hariman argued that the "Dream" speech may have done America a disservice because the speech

served to silence more radical voices that America needed to hear.

Although only a handful of studies have been published by rhetorical scholars dealing with King's speaking, much of the rhetorical criticism of King focuses on his "Letter From Birmingham Jail." Richard Fulkerson (1979) offered the "Letter" as a superb example of effective rhetoric. He argued that King adopted a debater's stance and used refutation to address two audiences simultaneously, the immediate audience of the local clergy as well as a broader audience. The "Letter" represented a moral argument carefully designed for an audience of some sophistication. It used a combination of logical and ethical persuasion effective for a generally well-educated audience. It was also written for a concerned religious audience. Fulkerson concluded his study by noting, "Its stylistic variety and nuance portray a personality in print, manipulate a reader's emotions, and create a union of reader and rhetor." Ronald Lee (1991) explored the rhetorical use of time in the "Letter." Lee described the "Letter's" recent, historical, and spiritual time frames. These frames served different ideological purposes and provided a ground for different audiences to unite. In analyzing this use of time frames, Lee argued the "Letter" ranks as a classic expression of American liberalism, but also had resonance for less secular groups. Wesley T. Mott (1975) argued that while King may be

seen by some African Americans as a tool of white oppression because of his nonviolent views, "Letter From Birmingham Jail" is testament to King's ability to transcend the fickle currents of history. Mott asserted the success of the "Letter" can be attributed to three distinct rhetorical traits: King's heritage of the highly emotional African-American preaching tradition, King's sense of political timing, and King's conscious literary ability. Mott attributed much of the success of the "Letter" to King's ability to harness the emotional power of the old African-American sermon. Malinda Snow (1985) argued that in the "Letter" King used the Apostle Paul as a model for himself and the Pauline epistle as a model for the "Letter." Using the English Bible to construct images, word clusters, and literary form, King shaped his material into a text that, like Paul's letters should be seen as a sermon. With its Pauline form and its extensive Biblical imagery, the "Letter from Birmingham Jail" appealed to an audience who was familiar with Judeo-Christian literature and accepted the ethical teachings of the Bible. James A. Colaiaco (1984) examined the rhetorical situation which gave rise to King's "Letter From Birmingham Jail." Colaiaco then outlined the goals of the letter and the methods used by King to meet those goals. G. Jack Gravlee (1987) noted that the "Letter" began from a posture of defense and that King had little control over the rhetorical situation. It was a textbook

example of responding to an immediate audience of eight clergymen while simultaneously addressing a universal audience. The letter incorporated such devices as metaphor and repetition to give it a melodious rhythm. King also reinforced each contention in the "Letter" with eminent authority. Gravlee also pointed to many similarities between the "Letter" and King's "I Have a Dream" speech.

While "I Have a Dream" and "Letter from Birmingham Jail" represent King's most well known pieces of discourse, they are not the only source of his rhetoric which has received the attention of rhetorical scholars. Newsom and Gorden (1963) discussed a meeting held March 10, 1961, in Atlanta, Georgia, at which King spoke. The authors described the occasion. In a turbulent atmosphere King presented a 20-minute impromptu sermon in which he was calm, deliberate, and forceful. He urged cooperation between the older more cautious African Americans in Atlanta and the younger African Americans who wanted to move faster to bring about desegregation. Donald Smith (1968) described the events that led to King being named to lead the Montgomery bus boycott. Smith then analyzed the address given by King the night he was named leader of the boycott. King emerged as a civil rights leader and met his first major challenge as a civil rights leader. Scott (1968B) analyzed the effect of the Black Power movement on King's rhetoric. Scott investigated King's address to the Tenth Anniversary Convention of the

Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, Georgia, on August 16, 1967. King made pride and power consistent with love and nonviolence. He displayed a vocabulary freshened by its confrontation with Black Power. King merged the more moderate aspects of Black Power with his message of love and nonviolence. Osborn (1989) studied King's final speech "I've Been to the Mountaintop." Osborn offered a critical excursion through the speech using audio-taped segments to illustrate and create a sense of living presence. In responding to Osborn, Wenzel (1989) argued that the speech should be appreciated as an eloquent response to particular rhetorical challenges. King's speech was interpreted as a real response to a particular situation. King's final speech has also been studied by Thomas Rosteck (1992). Rosteck examined King's "I've Been to the Mountaintop" as an instance of rhetorical use of existing narrative. The narrative functioned as a redescription of situation and as an example for political action. Rosteck examined King's use of the Exodus narrative and argued that the narrative functions to unite the power of aesthetics with the rigor of argument. Miller (1988) argued that scholars do not understand King's persuasiveness because they do not understand his relationship to the African-American folk pulpit. He asserted that this lack of understanding has resulted because rhetorical theorists largely neglect African-American preaching and because instead of investigating King's

intellectual and rhetorical roots in the African-American church, scholars mistakenly ascribe his ideas and persuasiveness to his formal education. Miller (1990) also examined King's essay "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence." In "Pilgrimage" King attributed his intellectual development to his formal education and his exposure to men such as Hegel, Nietzsche, and Gandhi. Miller contended that lesser known and unmentioned writers contributed more to King's thought and discourse than did the prestigious tradition of Euro-American intellectual history that "Pilgrimage" invokes. Miller further claimed that the African-American church provided King with the foundation for all the theological ideas he discussed in "Pilgrimage" with the exception of Communism. Dionisopoulos, Gallagher, Goldzwig, and Zarefsky (1992) explored the complexity of Martin Luther King's dual role as political and moral leader. They examined King's speech "A Time to Break Silence" as an example of King moving beyond the jeremadic call for America to repent and becoming a radical. King called for a re-ordering of societal priorities based on the belief that the Vietnam War was not a mistake but an example of an evil system working as intended. Lucaites and Condit (1990) examined the way in which the rhetoric of King and Malcolm X functioned together to negotiate the American ideal of equality for African Americans in the 1960s. As each strove to achieve legitimacy for their struggle they eventually brought about a new vision

of cultural equality and new ways of talking about the subject of equality. Lucaites and Condit argued that a new vocabulary was created which represented a synthesis of both King and Malcolm X. This new vocabulary functioned to produce a revised and emancipatory conception of cultural equality.

Numerous unpublished doctoral dissertations have been written about King, but very few are rhetorical analyses. Warren (1967) studied King's pastoral style and examined his invention, arrangement, style, delivery and memory as displayed in his sermons. Warren concluded that the constant general theme in King's sermons is the brotherhood of man as a necessary factor in an effectual relationship with God. Sloan (1978) conducted a rhetorical analysis of the use of the strategy of nonviolent resistance by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the movement toward integration during the civil rights movement. Keele (1972) conducted a Burkeian analysis of King's rhetorical strategies. She examined King as the agent, the locations of his campaigns as the scenes, and his rhetorical strategies as the agency. She concluded that from the public platform King was a Baptist minister, and from the pulpit he was a civil rights leader. His rhetoric reflected the complete integration of these two important roles. Smith (1964) analyzed the rhetoric of King during the Montgomery bus boycott, the Birmingham campaign, and the March on

Washington. King (1968) argued that Martin Luther King's rhetoric owed much to traditional African-American evangelism. Martin Luther King glorified the African-American experience and pointed to African-American suffering as qualifying the African American for leadership in a spiritual rebirth. For most of his career King's rhetoric absorbed the polarities of assimilation and separatism. His language was more complex than the simple patriotic appeals of most assimilationists and more full of genuine feeling than the separatists whose hollow rhetoric of self defense aroused so much hostility among the white majority. Miller (1985) argued that the sermons of King were influenced by a Social Gospel homiletic tradition that included Harry Emerson Fosdick, George Buttrick, Halford Luccock, J. Wallace Hamilton, and Howard Thurman. In his 1963 collection of sermons, Strength to Love, King at times borrowed from the sermons of these Social Gospel homileticians and also from the sermons of Phillips Brooks, a nineteenth-century abolitionist preacher. By borrowing portions of his sermons, King was relying heavily on oral tradition. Polle (1991) investigated the dynamics of nonviolent rhetoric and social change. King's nonviolent theory was significantly influenced by personalistic philosophy, the "Sermon On The Mount," Gandhi, Walter Rauschenbusch, Reinhold Niebuhr, and American democratic assumptions. Polle also outlined the important rhetorical functions served by nonviolence during

the civil rights movement. Dombrowski (1991) contended that the existential psychology of Irvin Yalom yields insight into King's "I Have a Dream" and "Mountaintop" speeches. Dombrowski concluded that existential features pervade the speeches. Nimocks (1986) offered a method by which to estimate the effectiveness of nonviolence. Two successful 20th Century movements, the Indian Independence Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the United States civil rights movement under King, were analyzed. Not unexpectedly, no significant stylistic differences between King and Gandhi were revealed. Bobbit (1992) presented an exposition and development of Kenneth Burke's theory of guilt-purification-redemption, and then applied the theory to King's "I Have a Dream" speech. He found King's use of the cycle had far less appeal with secular than with religious audiences.

Keith Miller (1992) has published an influential book dealing with King's rhetoric. In his book, Voice of Deliverance: The Language of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Its Sources, Miller asserted that King was influenced more by the African-American church than by his formal education. He also argued that in composing his sermons and speeches King relied heavily on passages borrowed from other speakers. He argued that this synthesis of folk oral and high literary tradition was a powerful source of King's appeal.

A review of the literature reveals only a handful of articles on Malcolm X's rhetoric have been published by rhetorical scholars. Scott (1968A) argued that when militant African Americans such as Malcolm X spoke they were justifying the threat of violence. Defense was almost always the context when the Black Power advocate spoke of guns, war, or killing. The African Americans advocating violent self-defense believed they were totally justified in using violence. This justification was based largely on a view of the ghetto as a colony and the white power structure as oppressive colonizers. McEdwards (1968) argued that Malcolm X used an agitative speaking style which called attention to the African American's plight. This agitative rhetoric was important not only to the civil rights movement, but to bringing about any social change. Gresson (1977) examined the message of Malcolm X, indicating the importance of certain regenerative themes within protest rhetoric. He also noted the importance of Malcolm X being seen as a radical. It was partially society's awareness of Malcolm X which made King's more moderate approach appear acceptable. Campbell (1970) discussed the symbolic action used in Malcolm X's speech "Message to the Grass Roots." The speech was examined as exemplifying characteristics of African-American oratory. Benson (1974) offered a rhetorical analysis of The Autobiography of Malcolm X. The autobiography represented confinement and enlargement. As Malcolm X's rhetorical

sphere enlarged from thief, hustler, convert, and civil rights leader, there was a parallel enlargement of his world view.

Only two dissertations have applied rhetorical analysis to the message of Malcolm X, and only one of these has dealt exclusively with him. Norman (1985) examined the leaders of the Black Muslims. She argued that Malcolm X attained a persona which represented the social goals of the Black Muslims. Gay (1985) argued that Malcolm X was one of the most successful speakers in mid-twentieth century America. He was successful primarily because of his ability in persuasive speaking. Gay categorized Malcolm X's rhetorical strategies and examined his rhetorical tactics. Gay applied classical rhetorical theory to determine that Malcolm X was successful as a persuasive speaker because he embodied the best of those rhetorical principles set forth by rhetorical theorists.

In summary, considering the historical importance of both King and Malcolm X, scant rhetorical criticism of their discourse has been done. Only one published article has provided a peripheral comparison of the two speakers. In addition no examination of the rhetoric of both men has gone beyond an article-length analysis. Also, only one dissertation has exclusively dealt with the speaking of Malcolm X, and this work solely critiqued his message through classical rhetorical standards. My analysis will go beyond

previous studies regarding the rhetoric of the two men by identifying the basic structure of the message each was proposing as well as offering a comparison and contrast of their rhetorical legacy.

Data

In order to examine the message of both King and Malcolm X, I will examine seven major speeches given by each speaker. These speeches have been extensively anthologized and quoted. They form the fragments or sinews of the canonical "texts" of each speaker. In the winnowing of the rhetorical legacy these are the speeches with the toughest lives, the survivors and emblems of the official message. The speeches given by King which I will examine span a period from 1957 to the night before his assassination on April 3, 1968. The speeches by King I intend to examine are "Give Us the Ballot-We Will Transform the South," "I Have a Dream," "Eulogy for the Martyred Children," "Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech," "Our God Is Marching On!" "A Time to Break Silence," and "I See the Promised Land."

The speeches given by Malcolm X span a time period from 1963 to 1965. Six of the seven speeches were given after Malcolm X was silenced by Elijah Muhammad. Thus, they represent Malcolm X's own interpretation of the Muslim religion and perhaps more clearly articulate his personal philosophy than earlier speeches, where he was primarily a spokesman for the Black Muslims. The speeches by Malcolm X

I intend to examine are "Message to the Grass Roots," "The Ballot or the Bullet," "The Black Revolution," "The Harlem 'Hate Gang' Scare," "At the Audubon" on December 13, 1964, "With Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer," and "Prospects for Freedom in 1965."

This study consists of six chapters. Chapter one has been an introduction. It has sought to provide background information and an overview of the study; it has also stated the problem; reviewed the relevant literature; given a brief overview of the methodology used in the study; outlined the organization of the study; and argued its significance. Chapter two will provide an overview of the civil rights movement. It will briefly summarize the contributions of various African-American leaders to the civil rights movement. Chapter three will discuss myth and its relation to scholarly interpretations of the public discourse of King and Malcolm X and provide a detailed discussion of the methodology. Chapter four will provide a detailed analysis of King's civil discourse. Chapter five will provide a similar analysis of the message of Malcolm X. In addition, chapter six will summarize the findings of the study and provide conclusions and suggestions for further research.

Significance of the Study

The study will be significant because it may give us insight into how seemingly divergent messages may converge over time. First, by employing myth criticism this study may

enhance our understanding of how myth structures within social movements or thought about.

Secondly, this study will provide the first detailed comparison of the rhetorical strategies used by King and Malcolm X, arguably the most influential leaders of the civil rights movement. The rhetoric of both men has not been thoroughly examined for hierarchical relationships which emerge in the discourse. The methodology used in this study will provide a method for unearthing these hierarchies. In examining the message of each man, this study will reveal the sources of their effectiveness and assess their rhetorical choices. Understanding the sources of their effectiveness will increase our understanding of the rhetorical success of the civil rights movement in the 1960s and of its relative importance in the decades following. This understanding will also aid in an understanding of the two rhetor's lasting impact on American culture. In sum, this study will attempt to analyze the speaking of both King and Malcolm X as a response to a specific situation and will also seek to understand the message underlying the mythologizing of both men.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN PUBLIC SPEAKING

During the 1830s, David Walker, an African-American Bostonian published a newspaper, Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World, attacking slavery. David Walker emerged as one of the first African-American agitators for freedom. Walker represented the first time an African American had decided to challenge America with the threat of violence from slaves. Walker contrasted America's image of itself as a Christian nation with the practice of slavery. Walker contended that no group of people has ever treated another group worse than America treated slaves (Smith, 1969).

David Walker was the first African-American man to disseminate his views to a large public by writing, and Charles Lenox Remond was the first African-American man to appear regularly on the platform in protest against slavery. He was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on February 1, 1810, to a Caribbean native who later became a naturalized citizen. He was educated in the Salem public schools. Although he had been born free, he was African American and began to speak out against slavery (Smith, 1969).

For several years Remond headed the Essex County, Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. As a representative of the Massachusetts state organization of the society he traveled the lecture circuit through many Northern states.

During this time Remond was the most famous African-American man in the country. Remond saw America as a Christian nation incapable of overcoming the evil of slavery. It seemed to Remond if America could cast off the evil system of slavery, it was spiritually capable of providing equality to African Americans. Remond also pointed to the inconsistency between America practicing slavery and claiming to be a Christian nation (Smith, 1969).

With the increasing tempo of the anti-slavery campaign, other African-American voices were raised in protest against the cruelties of slavery. In the early 1840s Frederick Douglass overshadowed Remond on the anti-slavery speaker's platform. Douglass, who had been born a slave, began to travel the anti-slavery speaking circuit (Smith, 1969).

Douglass was born in Talbot County, Maryland, around 1817. He was the property of Aaron Anthony. In 1825 he was sent to Baltimore to live with one of his master's cousins. Following his master's death he became the possession of Thomas Auld, who resided in St. Michaels, forty miles from Baltimore. He was later returned to Baltimore. From Baltimore he was able to escape to the North in 1838. He arrived in New York and was aided by David Ruggles, editor of the anti-slavery quarterly, The Mirror of Liberty, the first magazine edited by an African-American man. Ruggles was also secretary of the New York Vigilance Committee, which was formed to protect freed slaves from being captured and sold

into slavery and to aid escaped slaves. After his escape, Douglass married Anna Murray. After the ceremony, Ruggles gave Douglass five dollars and sent him to New Bedford, Massachusetts (Smith, 1969).

Douglass' development as a significant spokesman against slavery began after his arrival in Massachusetts. In Baltimore, he had been a class leader in the Sharp Street Methodist Church, and in New Bedford he identified with the Zion Methodist Church. However, he did not allow church to occupy all of his time. He discovered the anti-slavery society. Having on his body the scars of slavery's injustices, as he spoke he could dramatically bare the flesh for his audiences to see the imprint of the barbarity of slavery. The strength of his message could be found in his ethos. Douglass constantly denounced slavery, but he never encouraged slaves to revolt. He was a reformer not a revolutionary. He believed that slaves could only be free if whites rejected the idea of slavery (Smith, 1969).

Another important African-American speaker was Booker T. Washington. Washington was born a slave on a large plantation in Franklin County, Virginia, about 1858, of a slave mother and a white father. Shortly after emancipation the family moved to Halden, West Virginia. Washington studied at Hampton Normal and Agriculture School in Virginia and graduated in 1875. In 1878 Washington attended Wayland Seminary in Washington, D.C. In 1879 he returned to Hampton,

partly as a student and partly to pursue advanced studies (King, 1968).

In 1884 Washington began to make major addresses in the North before white audiences. Washington's reputation in educational circles grew steadily, but it was not until 1893 that he addressed his first influential Southern white audience. Washington's most famous address was his speech at the Atlanta Cotton State's Exposition. The speech has been reprinted in several books often accompanied by glowing editorials from major newspapers of the time. The speech immediately furnished Washington with a national reputation. Whites were pleased with the speech because Washington indicated that trends toward segregation would not be challenged (King, 1968).

Washington possessed the ability to adapt to his audience speaking to three audiences simultaneously, Southern whites, Southern African Americans, and Northern whites. His Atlanta address was largely an appeal to Southern whites. The speech represented a bargain. In return for economic equality and educational opportunity, Washington largely offered to accept the status quo. He attacked the solutions of Reconstruction as mistakes, and urged gradualism (King, 1968).

Washington also founded Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. It is ironic that as Washington's and the Tuskegee Institute's fortunes increased, overall the situation of

African Americans decreased. It may be that Washington's conservatism was preserved by his association with Northern philanthropists. In 1900 Washington's autobiography, Up From Slavery, was published, and the book enjoyed tremendous popularity. Washington's life represented the American dream. He had been born into slavery but had risen to great heights. In 1896, he had received the first honorary degree ever granted by Harvard to a non-caucasian. Because of the success of Tuskegee and his relationship with the philanthropist, who financed African-American education, Washington had almost absolute power over African-American education (King, 1968).

Marcus Garvey was born in the small town of St. Ann's Bay on the Northern coast of Jamaica. On August 1, 1914, he established the Universal Negro Improvement and Conservation Association and African Communities League. Calling on all people of African parentage to join the movement to lift the race, Garvey explained that he intended to establish a central nation for the black race (Smith, 1969).

Garvey landed in New York in March of 1916, to launch his international movement. Garvey arrived insisting that it was possible for an African American to escape the discrimination of America by joining his campaign to establish a homeland in Africa. Garvey expounded his views of the proud African heritage of African Americans. He often recalled the exploits of Zulu and Hottentot warriors against

Europeans. He pointed out that while Europeans were still savages, great civilizations flourished in Africa. Garvey emphasized pride in being black and African nationalism. In order to demonstrate that African Americans should own something, Garvey started several business ventures. He always placed strong emphasis on African Americans owning their own business. Although Garvey attracted a great deal of attention, his movement, the U. N. I. A. as it was called, never really had enough money to meet operating expenses. In 1927, Garvey was deported from the United States, and the U. N. I. A. never regained its early momentum (Smith, 1969).

Garvey's back to Africa movement was initially attacked by W. E. B. Du Bois. Du Bois felt that African-American intellectuals could change conditions in America without going to Africa. By the time Du Bois had begun in earnest to speak on subjects of interest to African Americans, he had successfully competed with white men in their academic communities, both in America and Europe. He was educated at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, Harvard University, and The University of Berlin. He contended the African American was an American who had shared in the suffering, building, and protection of the nation and as such should be given every privilege to which other Americans were entitled (Smith, 1969).

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks took her now famous ride on a Montgomery, Alabama, city bus and launched the modern

civil rights movement in the United States. On that day Parks boarded the bus and sat down in a seat on the eleventh row. The first ten rows of a Montgomery city bus were reserved for white passengers. When all the seats on the bus were full, a white passenger boarded, and the bus driver demanded that the four African Americans on the 11th row abandon their seats, so the white man could be seated. Three of the passengers moved, but Parks remained seated. She was arrested (Abernathy, 1989).

After her arrest the African-American ministers of Montgomery met Friday evening, December 2, 1955, in the basement of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, where Martin Luther King, Jr. was a visiting pastor, to organize a protest against the treatment of African Americans riding city buses. The ministers agreed to ask their congregations not to ride the city buses and called for another meeting on Monday, December 5, 1955, to decide whether or not to extend the boycott. The Monday boycott was a tremendous success, and the ministers met that evening and formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to lead the boycott. King was elected leader of the group (Abernathy, 1989).

The Montgomery bus boycott did lead to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, and King became the leader. This was the first protest which helped legitimize King's position as the leader of the civil rights movement in America. On December 13, 1956, The United States Supreme Court affirmed

a decision of a special three judge U. S. District Court in declaring Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional. Early on December 21, 1956, King rode the first integrated bus in Montgomery (King, 1958).

King's leadership role in the Montgomery bus boycott marked his sudden emergence as a leader of the civil rights movement. In order to expand the civil rights movement out of Montgomery, King formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. On January 10, 1957, King and a group of African-American leaders met at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, pastored by Martin Luther King, Sr., and formed the S.C.L.C. King, Jr. was temporarily named chairman. The first action of the group was to send a letter to President Eisenhower asking him to support desegregation. Eisenhower responded that no such support would be forthcoming (Garrow, 1986).

The group's second meeting occurred in New Orleans on February 14, 1957, and King was officially elected president. The name Southern Christian Leadership Conference was officially adopted at the third meeting on August 8 and 9, 1957, in Montgomery. Originally, the primary focus of the group was an effort to register African-American voters in the South, a program named "Crusade for Citizenship" with headquarters in Atlanta and a budget of \$200,000. At a November 5, 1957, meeting in Memphis King announced that the

"Crusade for Citizenship" would begin with simultaneous rallies in twenty Southern cities on January 28, 1958. The kick-off date was subsequently moved back to February 12, 1958. The rallies on the 12th were a failure, and the S.C.L.C. found itself moribund (Garrow, 1986).

Although King was the president of the S. C. L. C., circumstances had kept him from taking an active leadership role. It had become clear that if the S. C. L. C. were to survive, King would have to devote more time and energy to the organization. With King devoting time and energy to the programs of the S. C. L. C., the group rose to prominence in leading the struggle for civil rights in America (Garrow, 1986).

One of the greatest successes of King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference occurred in 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama. In 1963, African Americans would have said that Birmingham was the worst city in the world outside of South Africa. Many African Americans while traveling would intentionally avoid passing through the city. Birmingham was a bastion of Southern racism. King and the S.C.L.C. arrived in Birmingham on April 3, 1963. King immediately began to lead protest marches and demonstrations aimed at desegregating Birmingham. On July 16, 1963, a biracial committee to discuss the integration of Birmingham held its first meeting, and within a week the city council had repealed every segregation ordinance. The eventual

result of the protest of the S. C. L. C. was modern Birmingham, a city noted for its racial harmony. However, the movement in Birmingham did not just result in local gains for civil rights. As a result of the violence associated with the police force in Birmingham, the civil rights movement and King gained a great deal of national support (Abernathy, 1989).

Another event which proved to be a tremendous success for King occurred during the summer of 1963. On August 28, 1963, during the famous March on Washington, King delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. A number of people addressed the crowd that day. Most spoke of the struggles African Americans had undergone and the challenges that lay ahead. Most were militant in tone and accusatory in their language. The speakers throughout the day set the stage for King's speech, which capped the greatest ceremony of the civil rights movement (Abernathy, 1989).

The 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery was also important to King's legacy as well as the civil rights movement. The march was held in large part to dramatize the need for the passage of a federal voting rights bill, but it also served to symbolize the success of the civil rights movement (Abernathy, 1989). Undoubtedly, King was instrumental in bringing about the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Both

of these measures worked to guarantee to African Americans the minimal rights of American citizenship.

While King was advocating nonviolent protest as a means of achieving equality, Malcolm X was preaching a different message, a message based on a belief in the inherent goodness of African descendants, a belief articulated in the Black Muslim religion. Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska. His father was a Baptist minister, who believed that African Americans should take pride in their African roots. Malcolm X's father was killed in Lansing, Michigan, when Malcolm X was six. Malcolm X's mother then began to suffer from mental problems, and the strain of raising four children. She was committed to a mental institution, and Malcolm X went to live with some neighbors. At the age of 13, Malcolm X, who had often been in trouble at school, was sent to a detention home in Mason, Michigan. A year later he left the detention home and moved in with a family in Mason. After staying briefly in Mason, Malcolm X moved to Boston to live with an older sister (X, 1965).

As an uneducated African American in Boston, Malcolm X took a job shining shoes in a nightclub. He was later hired to work for a railroad. He moved to New York in March 1943. He began to sell drugs, and after a dispute with a numbers runner, he returned to Boston in October, 1944. While living in Boston, he was arrested on January 12, 1946, in a jewelry

store trying to reclaim a stolen watch he had left for repair. He was indicted for selling firearms on January 15, 1946, and for larceny and breaking and entering on January 16, 1946. He began serving a prison term at Charlestown Prison on February 27, 1946. During his prison stay, Malcolm X was exposed to the Black Muslims and their leader, Elijah Muhammad. After his conversion to Islam, he began to read and study extensively. Malcolm X was released from prison on August 7, 1952. In September of 1952 he was officially recognized by the Nation of Islam as Malcolm X (Karim, 1992).

After a period of personal training by Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X quickly rose in the Nation of Islam to become its official national spokesman. Through him the Nation of Islam grew quickly and became nationally known. Malcolm X had accepted the Myth of Yacub, which depicted the creation of whites as the result of genetic manipulation by an evil African scientist. Furthermore, whites had been created as a devil race. Whites had no capacity for moral action and were capable of extreme brutality. Malcolm X believed that only the Nation of Islam could make African Americans aware of their rightful place as the supreme race (Paris, 1991).

Malcolm X firmly believed in the Yacub Myth. He proclaimed its truth vehemently. His powerful oratory and sincerity were effective in bringing thousands into the Nation of Islam. He was able to be very persuasive to African Americans because he could easily point to cruelties

which had been committed by the devil white race. However, his views began to change when he began to examine orthodox Islam. Essential to this examination was a visit to Mecca in 1959. Having known only racism his entire life, Malcolm X experienced in Mecca the kind of genuine kinship among all races of mankind that he believed was possible only through total submission to Allah. He had seen that all whites were not inherently evil and racist. He had come to believe that whites might be saved from racism by submitting to Allah (Paris, 1991).

Having rejected the Yacub Myth Malcolm X could no longer remain a disciple of Elijah Muhammad. However, he still viewed whites in America as sitting in oppressive rule over African Americans. He believed that racism in America was part of a worldwide exploitation and domination of dark peoples by Western whites. Because the problem seemed worldwide, Malcolm X advocated a worldwide solution, emphasizing human rights not civil rights. He split with Elijah Muhammad in March of 1964 and formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated in New York. Up until that time he had only spoken within the Muhammad religious frame work. However, after his break, his political belief did not change in principle. Nothing in his encounter with orthodox Islam had threatened his belief in the importance of African-American nationalism (Paris, 1991).

In June 1964 Malcolm X formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity, a distinctly political organization open to non-Muslims. His break with Elijah Muhammad had left him with only a small number of actual Muslim followers. He still considered himself a Muslim. He also still accepted Elijah Muhammad's solution to the race problem in America, a return of African Americans to Africa. However, he realized this was a long term goal and worked to help African Americans gain power in America. He advocated African Americans controlling their political, economic, and social institutions. Philosophically, Malcolm X allowed for the possibility that some whites could participate in the struggle to eradicate racism, but he was not prepared to let any whites join his organization (Paris, 1991).

His new organization also advocated the use of violence as a means of self defense. He believed that nonviolent passive resistance presented no threat to the forces of white oppression. He believed African Americans needed to have self respect and that anyone with self respect would engage in self defense. He pointed out that the violent overthrow of tyrannical governments was one of the most sacred rights of man. America had achieved its freedom through armed revolution not nonviolent passive resistance. He argued that African Americans must be prepared to lay down their lives in defense of their human rights. He also believed that violent

self defense of human rights would gain white respect for African Americans (Paris, 1991).

Malcolm X was shot several times at 3:10 p.m. on February 21, 1965, while delivering a speech at an Organization of Afro-American Unity meeting in the Audubon Ballroom in New York. He was later pronounced dead.

After African Americans gained equal access to public facilities and the right to participate in the political process, some believed the civil rights movement was over. However, while the drama of the civil rights movement may not be in the spotlight as it was in the 1960s, the civil rights movement certainly is not over. Inequality still exists between whites and African Americans.

In spite of these differences many Americans have begun to resent affirmative-action and welfare programs designed to close the gap between the white power structure and America's underprivileged minorities. An idea has emerged that affirmative-action programs have been nothing more than discrimination against whites and the welfare system has created a vicious cycle of poverty from which African Americans cannot break free.

Many Americans, both white and African American, believe it is time for the underclass to stop relying on government intervention and more on hard work to improve their situation. A belief seems to be surfacing in America that affirmative-action programs prohibit the best qualified

person from receiving work. The welfare system is also considered to be doing grave damage to African Americans. Ralph Abernathy (1989) argued in his autobiography that the welfare system was not benign but was a millstone around the neck of the African-American population.

The view that the civil rights movement should no longer be concerned with traditional affirmative-action and welfare programs is expressed by Clint Bolick (1988) in his book Changing Course: Civil Rights at the Crossroads. Bolick has claimed that present civil rights leaders are misguided. They have exchanged color blindness for color consciousness, equality of opportunity for forced equality, individual liberty for group reparations, and justice for power. The civil rights strategy should focus on eradicating what has historically constituted the greatest impediment to civil rights. Any government action violating fundamental rights or discriminating on the basis of immutable characteristics must be eliminated. By turning away from this traditional focus on equality the civil rights movement has lost momentum over the last two decades. Civil rights policy must be based on free enterprise as well as individual liberty. As long as a cycle of government-enforced dependency exists, serious civil rights issues remain.

Bolick (1988) argued that the civil rights movement was originally concerned with guaranteeing freedom and equality. The civil rights movement must return to a concern with

equality. The three major civil rights issues of today are entrepreneurial opportunities, educational opportunities, and the elimination of the cycle of poverty. He has also proposed a plan for the contemporary civil rights movement. First, it must liberate the free enterprise system to provide entry-level opportunities which will foster upward mobility for the poor. Essentially, he has argued that hindrances to free enterprise are hindrances to civil rights. Second, the civil rights movement must expand educational opportunities beyond the public sector by opening education to competition from the private sector. Third, the civil rights movement must deal with the cycle of poverty by confronting the government policies that reinforce and prevent escape from poverty. Finally, there must be a recapturing of the moral high ground in the fight for civil rights. In order to implement his plan Bolick urged a return to the same ingenuity and commitment exhibited by past heroes of the civil rights movement, such as Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and Martin Luther King.

While Bolick's conservative Republican ideas regarding the civil rights movement are indeed popular, they certainly are not shared by everyone. Many are still interested in strengthening affirmative action and expanding welfare programs. A more typical approach to the civil rights movement was taken by Roy Brooks (1990) in his book Rethinking the American Race Problem. Brooks argued that

America's fundamental civil rights program is conceptually sound. The problem with formal equal opportunity is the way in which it has been applied since Brown v. Board of Education.

Brooks (1990) also urged for a program of governmental assistance coupled with African-American self-help programs. Government must open opportunities. He noted, however, that the current political climate discouraged political action. While this climate may be changing under President Bill Clinton, how much change occurs remains to be seen.

Brooks (1990) pointed out that rulings in the late 1980s by Ronald Reagan appointees to the Supreme Court began to chip away at the rights of African Americans. These rulings set precedents that greatly restricted the employment opportunities of African Americans and greatly diminished the ability to fight racial discrimination and segregation in employment and elsewhere. These precedents were so decidedly unsupportive of civil rights interests that three of the justices felt impelled to wonder aloud whether those justices voting with the majority believe that America still faces a race problem.

To both old-line conservatives and neoconservatives, the Court's rulings are to be celebrated as one of Reagan's most enduring legacies. To both full-time and fair-weather liberals, the Court's rulings are to be recorded as an unhappy fortuity of political timing (Brooks, 1990).

Obviously many African Americans believe that the government should take an active role in bettering the lives of African Americans through welfare programs and affirmative action. Affirmative action is a chief concern of the modern civil rights movement. Jesse Jackson, arguably a national spokesman for African Americans, recently focused his efforts on finding jobs for minorities in baseball front offices.

While there are differences of opinion regarding the role government should play in assuring civil rights as well as the benefits or harmful effects of affirmative action, there seems to be agreement that African Americans must improve their economic condition and work to help themselves. While some agreement exists, it is difficult to speak of a monolithic African-American civil rights movement. For instance, Jackson's campaign to integrate the front office of the Cincinnati Reds may provide for a more integrated national pastime, but it seems to do little for the single African-American mother living below the poverty line. Also, attempting to move a few African Americans into high paying front office jobs in professional sports lacks the drama and moral necessity of ending hundreds of years of legalized segregation and discrimination. Thus, present civil rights campaigns have difficulty matching the emotion and intensity of the civil rights campaigns in the 1960s.

There seems to be a lack of focus regarding the goals of the civil rights movement, and African Americans are

obviously still disproportionately disadvantaged when compared to whites. There also seems to be a lack of centralized leadership among African Americans. While Jackson has managed to establish himself as a political leader, he has yet to be elected to office or institute major changes in national policy. The civil rights movement presently seems to be without dynamic leadership provided during the 1960s by King and Malcolm X. This lack of leadership has contributed to the lack of focus within the civil rights movement.

The civil rights movement has achieved a great deal. However, there seems to be no clear plan detailing where the civil rights movement should go from here. One portion of the civil rights movement is over. African Americans have institutionalized access to basic opportunities. African Americans have been given the right to compete in American society. The problem lies in the fact that many African Americans do not begin the process on equal footing. They have substandard education, substandard health care, and a substandard environment from which to compete. One challenge for the civil rights movement involves improving the point from which African Americans begin competing within a free market economy.

There still exists an important place for the civil rights movement in America. As long as barriers to economic opportunity and economic liberty persist and as long as a

cycle of poverty exists, serious civil rights issues remain. Even if basic opportunities are no longer denied solely on the basis of race, the fact that these basic opportunities are denied indicates a serious need for further action in the area of civil rights.

It appears that the civil rights movement must be prepared to move in the direction of attempting to guarantee economic opportunity. However, opposition to this guarantee of economic equality will continue to exist. The chief issue of civil rights appears to be the elimination of the cycle of poverty which exists in much of the African-American community. There is ample reason to expect that civil rights will remain important to the American agenda. The question becomes who will lead such a movement and what strategies will they incorporate into their campaign.

The civil rights movement has been cast adrift. Its future agenda has been uncharted, and its moral leadership has been unclaimed. Present civil rights leadership will be forced to cope with the economic problems facing America. Perhaps the civil rights movement is adrift because a dominant charismatic leader has not emerged to speak for African Americans. The civil rights movement in America is without strong leadership and consensus of opinion. The fact that opinions exist ranging from imposing affirmative-action policies on baseball to eliminating such policies altogether indicates the fragmented nature of the civil rights movement.

It is against this backdrop that modern civil rights leaders must continue the struggle for equality in America.

CHAPTER 3

A REVIEW OF CRITICAL LITERATURE AND DISCUSSION OF METHOD

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section will provide an overview of the critical literature regarding the rhetoric of King and Malcolm X. The second section will provide an outline of the methodology for this study.

Overview of Critical Literature

In reviewing the critical literature this chapter will focus on early and contemporary rhetorical criticism of King and Malcolm X. This section will summarize and review rhetorical criticism produced in the 1960s as well as rhetorical criticism produced from 1985 to the present.

In order to examine the original scholarship regarding King, I will examine three articles and three dissertations produced during the 1960s. I will first review the three articles.

Newsom and Gorden (1963) discussed a rally held after an agreement to desegregate lunch counters had been reached between the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and a liaison committee representing the African-American community. The agreement was proclaimed as a major victory for the African-American community in Atlanta and came as a result of a year-long nonviolent struggle to desegregate the lunch counters.

During the rally King rose to give a 20-minute impromptu speech. He was calm, deliberate, and forceful. He spoke

with both warmth and authority. His arrangement followed a logical pattern. His style contained a loftiness of language. He used authority during his speech. His conclusion used an analogy comparing the civil rights movement to a football game stating that African Americans were now at midfield and that they would eventually score. His conclusion was stirring, and his speech was a satisfying conclusion to the rally. With masterful language, he reaffirmed his nonviolent strategy and prophesied victory (Newsom & Gorden, 1963).

Donald H. Smith (1968) provided a brief account of King as the leader of the Montgomery bus boycott. The boycott was triggered by the now famous action of Rosa Parks on the evening of December 1, 1955. Early Friday morning December 2, E. D. Nixon, a pullman porter and leader of the labor and civil rights movement in Montgomery, called and informed King of Parks' arrest. King agreed to lend his support to a bus boycott. On the afternoon of December 5, leaders of the African-American community in Montgomery met and formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to organize and direct the boycott. King was elected president of the M. I. A. by acclamation.

Thus, King, at the age of 26 and a resident of Montgomery for little more than a year, became the elected leader of one of the most important revolts in American history. Smith's (1968) paper deals with the first mass ..

meeting of the boycott conducted on December 5. When King spoke, he had no notes. His preparation had been limited to about 20 minutes, and he had sketched the outline just before leaving for the meeting. In his introduction he linked the Montgomery crisis to the broader, more fundamental issue of all Americans being entitled to the rights of full citizenship. The introduction implied King's concept of the Montgomery protest as a revolt from the democratic system. King stressed the reasons why African Americans in Montgomery were justified in the bus boycott. Next he portrayed Parks as an heroic symbol. He also strove to assure solidarity, stressing the need for united action. He also gave his listeners moral support by portraying the boycott as a Christian endeavor undertaken by Christian people.

Scott (1968B) discussed the relationship between King and Black Power advocates. King was consistently presented as being against Black Power perhaps because he symbolized passive resistance. However, King's just end through just and peaceful means philosophy had come under attack by Black Power advocates, who represented a new form of African-American militancy. The immediate impact of Black Power on King was great. Black Power presented him with the rhetorical necessity of dissociating himself from the Black Power advocates or with the opportunity of portraying his plan for integration as superior to ideas held by Black Power advocates.

In his speech to the Tenth Anniversary Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta, Georgia, on August 16, 1967, King displayed a vocabulary freshened by his confrontation with Black Power. King, who had been predominant in the civil rights movement for the past decade was in the process of adapting his rhetoric and indicating a desire for African Americans to work together as a group to achieve power (Scott, 1968B).

Smith (1964) also produced one of the three dissertations dealing with King during the 1960s. Smith's dissertation is largely Neo-Aristotelian in nature, and he examines King's verbal and nonverbal rhetorical strategies. His dissertation was the first to offer a rhetorical criticism of King. His review of literature states, "There is no previous scholarly research which is concerned primarily with Martin Luther King's rhetoric."

An analysis of King's philosophical bases revealed that King believed the pulpit must exercise leadership in social reform, men ought to resist unjust laws, nonviolence is a method of protest in the highest tradition of the Judeo-Christian Ethic, and change does not come without struggle. Smith (1964) isolated five distinguishing characteristics of King's rhetoric. First, King's prose was clear, appropriate, highly stylized, and frequently ornate. Second, King was skilled in adapting his style to the needs of the audience and occasion. He could adjust his style to appeal to

audiences of all levels of education, castes, and religious beliefs. Third, he used a mixture of logical proofs, ethical proofs, and emotional proofs to appeal to his audience. Fourth, King's delivery was powerful. His presentation was characterized by a slow, deliberate beginning, a series of ascending minor climaxes, and a highly emotional conclusion. Fifth, he used the nonverbal technique of mass demonstration to communicate the desperate condition of nineteen million African Americans.

Warren (1966) examined sixteen sermons published by King in Strength to Love. Warren proposed four variables which distinguish the sermon from other forms of discourse. The sermon is a medium of divine truth. The sermon is biblically based. The sermon presupposes a setting of religious worship, and the sermon assumes moral spiritual motivation.

In analyzing King's sermon preparation, Warren (1966) concluded that King preferred to write out each sermon in full and use an extemporaneous mode of delivery. However, King's hectic schedule did not always allow time for this, so in many instances King was forced to update previously preached sermons. The nonverbal attributes of King's delivery include correct posture, timely gestures, and excellent eye contact. King's articulation and pronunciation were also good, and his vocal qualities proved adequate in his oral persuasion.

Andrew King (1968) concluded that King's rhetoric owed much to traditional African-American evangelism. King built his appeals in terms of the uniqueness of the African-American experience. His rhetoric absorbed the polarities of assimilation and separatism. King's rhetoric urged a fusion of the practical with moral and spiritual renewal. King determined that Martin Luther King's images of separatism and isolation, good and evil were not the polarities one might expect. Segregation was metaphorically equated with the sin of white society, but the suffering segregation caused was also divine. This suffering helped create African-American moral authority. Assimilation was redefined as a chance for whites to join African Americans in a revolution of values. African Americans were offering whites a chance to join them in bringing an earthly kingdom of true brotherhood into existence.

In evaluating the early scholarship regarding King it is important to note that the scholars were most concerned with the aesthetic qualities of his rhetoric. Most early King scholars seemed to be reviewing his oratory much in the same way a theater critic would review an outstanding play. The early scholarship also seemed concerned with evaluating King's pivotal position in one of the most important eras of American history. The early critics of King affirmed his place as one of the greatest and most influential orators in American history.

In order to summarize the contemporary scholarship regarding King, I will summarize eleven articles, four dissertations, and one book produced since 1985. I will first discuss the articles.

Snow (1985) pointed out ways in which biblical literature informed King's "Letter From Birmingham Jail." She argued that King found a model for himself in Paul and that he garnered images from the Bible that contributed to the "Letter's" rhetorical success. Snow asserted that following the homiletic traditions of African-American Protestantism, King assumed both a Pauline role and a literary form in the "Letter." This role was only one of many scriptural allusions that King used, and the "Letter," like many of Paul's epistles, was also a sermon. Essentially, the "Letter" exploited the form and scope of the Pauline letter.

The "Letter" responded to a statement in the Birmingham Post Herald by eight prominent clergymen in Birmingham. The clergymen expected no response, but in responding King portrayed himself as a colleague and an equal. By speaking as a fellow clergyman, King's response was not only appropriate, but obligatory. One pastor would certainly respond to a letter from another pastor. In responding King adopted the Pauline persona. The letter contained a number of straightforward references to Paul's letters. Like Paul, King placed love at the foundation of constructive action.

King also addressed his audience directly, a practice often employed by Paul. King also used a number of Pauline allusions which cast him in the role of theologian, advisor, and preacher (Snow, 1985).

In his "Letter From Birmingham Jail," King clearly identified with Paul. By reviving the form of the Pauline epistle, King was able to take advantage of its particular rhetorical conventions, its dialectic rhythm of statement and response, its use of scriptural texts and imagery, and its author-audience relationship. Like Paul, King assumed the common ground of belief between himself and his audience. The eight clergymen could not deny their beliefs, nor could the white moderate public whom King sought to reach in his larger audience. King used the Christian beliefs of his audience to argue that civil order and routine must, according to those beliefs, be subordinate to the freedom and welfare of their fellow human beings. In his "Letter" King also closed with a wish to meet the eight clergymen. Paul also wished to meet those to whom he wrote. With its Pauline form and its extensive biblical imagery, King's "Letter" appealed to an audience both familiar with Christian literature and accepting of the ethical teachings of the Bible (Snow, 1985).

Gravlee (1987) examined the harsh conditions African Americans lived under in the South in the 1960s. He pointed out the role language played in degrading the African

American. Adult African-American males were called boy, and African Americans collectively were called coons, darkies, and niggers. The labels "white" and "colored" were posted on almost all public facilities. African Americans were constantly reminded of their segregated, second class status.

Gravlee's (1987) analysis consisted of examining the Montgomery bus boycott, King's "Letter From Birmingham Jail," and the March on Washington. Gravlee offered a rhetorical analysis of King's first mass-meeting address during the Montgomery bus boycott. He concluded King demonstrated eloquent style and rhythm. In examining the "Letter From Birmingham Jail," Gravlee concluded that the "Letter" was a textbook example of responding to the immediate audience of eight clergymen and simultaneously addressing a universal audience. The "Letter" was also a sermon filled with the traditions of African-American folk preaching as well as devastating logic. It unfolded as debate refutation with King defining terms and answering arguments. The "Letter" incorporated such devices as metaphor and repetition to give it a melodious rhythm. King used authority to support his contentions. He used the words of Paul, Jesus, Socrates, Reinhold Niebuhr, the Supreme Court, Saint Augustine, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, Martin Luther, Abraham Lincoln, and Thomas Jefferson to strengthen his claims. King argued for basic American values. He was

attempting to conserve and make operational the forces of good.

Gravlee (1987) also examined King's "I Have a Dream" speech. King relied heavily on repetition, beginning eight statements with "I have a dream," and following that with nine statements beginning, "Let freedom ring. The speech was epideictic in nature with King seeking to unify his audience.

Alexander Alvarez (1988) studied King's "I Have a Dream" speech as a sermon in the African-American Baptist tradition. The speech was presented in dialogue form. The audience participated in King's address. The speech contained oral formulas. These formulas accomplished two functions. They stimulated the audience through rhythm and furthered the expression of ideas. The speech appealed to common knowledge by quoting or referring to the Constitution, the National Anthem, and the Bible. Finally, the speech had a number of figures of speech, a characteristic of African-American preaching. The speech was metaphoric because the language was taken out of context. It was not the discourse of the white community, the government, or the nation as a whole. The use of the form of the African-American sermon served as metaphor for protest. Alvarez concluded by offering a transcription of "I Have A Dream" in poetic form. She believed transcriptions of the speech in prose form were inaccurate.

In examining King's "I've Been to the Mountaintop" speech, Osborn (1989) offered what he called a critilogue, a critical excursion through a speech, using audio-taped segments from that speech both to illustrate and to create a sense of living presence. He felt this was necessary because speeches are normally events that occur within contexts and are living moments. For Osborn speeches were a point of complex convergence in which speaker, auditors, and events come together in "grand illumination."

Osborn (1989) drew several conclusions about the "Mountaintop" speech. It proved that public oration was not a dying art form. During the speech King drew heavily on the biblical story of the flight of the Israelites from Egypt. The primary virtue of this narrative was in its place within the African-American rhetorical tradition. Osborn also criticized King's use of the narrative. He argued that it may not have been wise to remind African Americans of their history as slaves or to refer to them as children. King also merged the New Testament biblical narrative of the Good Samaritan with the Old Testament narrative of the Israelites being lead by Moses from Egypt. Also, King's speech had the immediate task of reinvigorating a faltering strike. Finally, Osborn discussed some of the rhetorical constraints King was forced to deal with. The theme of the outsider invoked the belief that outsiders were agitating African Americans who would otherwise be content with their

situation. Another theme present was fear of a violent African-American uprising, and last, the theme of paternalism was present. African Americans were stereotyped in the South as childlike and needing to be protected.

Wenzel (1989) responded to Osborn. The main point of Wenzel's interpretation was to challenge the historical frame within which Osborn viewed the speech. He contended that Osborn's depth of feeling for King caused Osborn to place the speech on a "monumental pedestal." The result was a portrayal of King's speech which seemed more eulogistic than analytical and more epideictic than critical. Such a stance would be appropriate for an historical appreciation of the speech but should be the last stage of criticism rather than the first. The image of King as a martyred hero standing on the mountaintop looking at the promised land dominated the approach to the speech.

King set out to prove five points in the "Mountaintop" speech. The struggle of the sanitation workers was well worth the effort, because it was part of a worldwide struggle for freedom. The struggle could be won. The way to win was through nonviolent demonstration. He was not afraid, and African Americans in Memphis should not be afraid. Each individual should be selflessly committed to the struggle. For purposes of analysis the speech was divided into two parts. The first part comprised about 60 percent of the speech. It contained the first three points and read like a

debater's affirmative case on a policy proposition. The remainder of the speech was concerned with points four and five and was substantially less argumentative (Wenzel, 1989).

King had prepared for this oratorical achievement in two ways. He was prepared rhetorically by a career of leadership through speech. He was prepared morally by a commitment to dangerous unselfishness. The speech illustrated the power of rhetorical brilliance and great moral courage. Wenzel (1989) concluded by noting that King's conclusion in Memphis was not a mystical narrative of his death, but rather a rhetorical response to a rhetorical exigence.

Cox (1989) argued that King's "I Have A Dream" speech addressed a sense of timing for social change. In the months before his "Dream" speech, King had expressed a concern with the view of time that whites relied upon to defend the status quo. Cox began his essay by describing the origins of gradualism as advocated by Southern whites to maintain segregation in the 1950s and 1960s. With the Supreme Court's Brown decision, many whites in the South no longer saw segregation as a necessary way of life. Massive resistance to desegregation had died. However, the legacy of massive resistance prevented an authentic moderate rhetoric from emerging in the South. Gradualism held a view that change could not be achieved suddenly but must take place slowly. Gradualism became a rationalization for the status quo. The Court's judgement that Brown should be implemented with all

deliberate speed provided a legal justification for segregation. Gradualism held out the promise of progress but restricted change to a form of tokenism. In 1960 not a single school was integrated in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, or Louisiana.

In the "Dream" speech King framed the present situation of African Americans in relation to the promises of democracy. He was able to focus on the timeliness of the choice before America. The time of waiting had ended. The focus of the speech then switched to the journey ahead. The traditional assumptions of gradualism were set against the expectation of change. He then addressed the difficulties of the journey and instructed the crowd to "Go back" with faith that the situation in America would be changed. At this point King added a spontaneous vision of the future. King's dream sequence completed the temporal movement begun with the promise of democracy. An allusion to the Declaration of Independence linked the first part of the speech with its promised fulfillment in history. Past and future were identified in the image of sons of former slaves and sons of former slave-owners sitting down together. In the "quasi-mythical" time of this vision, past and future were reconciled. The dream was a fulfillment of a heritage that King had articulated in referring to the "Gettysburg Address." King's dream became an empowering vision of the fulfillment of time. The dream followed from and was a

fulfillment of democracy. The "Dream" speech reconstituted public time as urgent and the struggles of civil rights activists as redemptive (Cox, 1989).

In responding to Cox, Hariman (1989), argued that King actually urged gradualism in the "Dream" speech. King was struggling against more radical speakers for control of his movement. His speech reasserted a moderate voice and the assumptions of gradualism. Hariman first examined the rhetorical situation. The March on Washington became a promotion of the Kennedy civil rights bill, and the Kennedy administration maintained tight control over the march. King's movement had achieved tremendous success and incorporated thousands into the movement. However, as the March approached, his position on nonviolent demonstrations was being challenged by more radical groups and voices. In speaking on August 28, 1963, he sought not only to persuade whites that they should not continue with their brand of gradualism but to persuade African Americans that they should not pursue radical change. An example of this was the metaphor of the bad check. The metaphor communicated a moderate voice. It said that institutional order was essentially sound. It only needed reform.

Lucaites and Condit (1990) evaluated the rhetoric of both King and Malcolm X. They examined the way in which the culturetypal rhetoric of King and the counter-cultural rhetoric of Malcolm X functioned together to construct a view

of equality. King and Malcolm X articulated two different views of equality. For Malcolm X equality represented equivalence between clearly separate entities. King equated equality as a recognition of sameness between two entities. Both King and Malcolm X articulated their respective views of equality through the use of characterizations and narratives. Culturally established narratives and characterizations exist in any community. Taken together they constitute a public vocabulary. Rhetors who successfully rearrange and revivify the culturally established public vocabulary to produce social change practice culturetypal rhetoric. Those rhetors who introduce culturally unauthorized characterizations and narratives to the public vocabulary and challenge existing characterizations and narratives practice counter-cultural rhetoric.

Because of their different life experiences, King and Malcolm X had different visions of equality. Therefore, they employed different rhetorical means to achieve their respective goals. Lucaites and Condit (1990) believed that King's and Malcolm X's opposition should be seen as two voices in dialogue, separated and connected by their similarities and differences. As two voices in dialogue, King and Malcolm X contributed equally to a revised concept of equality which emerged from the 1960s. King and Malcolm X essentially faced the same rhetorical task. Their primary goal was to achieve social and political legitimacy. As

current African-American leaders continue to strive to achieve this goal, they borrow from the visions of both King and Malcolm X. While articulating separate visions, King and Malcolm X produced the components of the current African-American vision, a vision that offers a cultural uniqueness and political amalgamation.

Lee (1991) asserted that few pieces of discourse better exemplified the rhetorical use of political time than King's "Letter From Birmingham Jail." Lee described three time frames in the "Letter": recent, historical, and spiritual. When using recent time, the discourse located a pattern of particulars to explain present circumstances. In the "Letter," King discovered rhetorical proofs in the details of recent events. Then he justified his movement's actions in light of these details. Because his discourse described present circumstances, he was justified in calling for policies to alleviate racist conditions. Historical time justified individual acts of defiance by juxtaposing two competing theories of progress. The first celebrated the virtue of waiting. The second celebrated the virtue of acting. King did see history as progressive, but progress was the product of acting rather than waiting. Through the use of spiritual time, King reconciled human freedom with divine intervention. He created a vision that fused his commitment to religious teachings and political action. God's presence in history shaped the presence of the

"Letter." Throughout his response to the eight white clergymen, King employed phrases suggesting God's work in history. Spiritual time integrated history into God's design, but it left uncertain the duration of God's plan for King's "beloved community."

Lee (1991) asserted that the "Letter" ranked "as a classic expression of American liberalism." Several of the "Letter's" strategies were indicative of liberal rhetoric. First, the "Letter" illustrated the temporal diversity in liberal rhetoric. Second, the "Letter" revealed the workings of a mediating term, conscience, in liberal rhetoric. Finally, the "Letter" revealed the practical character of liberalism. King created a powerful vision that avoided the conservative urge to do nothing and the radical urge to reject everything.

Rosteck (1992) examined King's "I've Been To The Mountaintop" oration as an instance of the use of existing narrative. The narrative functioned as both a redescription of a situation and as an example for political action. The essay examined "Mountaintop" as a case in the argumentative use of an existing narrative. King used the Exodus story to orient his audience to his perspective and argue for immediate political action. King used the narrative to simultaneously reconfigure the scene in Memphis and to urge action.

King's "Mountaintop" address offered evidence of corresponding functions to the Exodus story. Narrative can serve as metaphor or as example. King was able to use the narrative as metaphor because it was familiar to his audience. The Exodus story was evoked without the speaker having to explicitly tell the entire story. King was able to suggest associations between the elements of the Exodus and the social situation. The narrative as metaphor involved King's audience in their own persuasion, prompting them to complete the argument themselves. For the audience Memphis became the Exodus. Once the audience had convinced themselves of their place in the narrative, they were forced to see themselves as marching to the promised land. Rosteck (1992) also viewed the narrative as example. The narrative was designed to show the audience that they must act as God's children. The persuasive effect was to provide examples for action.

Dionisopoulos, et al. (1992) explored the rhetorical complexity of Martin Luther King's dual role as political and moral leader with regard to his opposition of the Vietnam War. Criticism of King's speeches had tended to focus on the moral aspects of his character and rhetoric. However, neither type of criticism has revealed the rhetorical complexities involved in his successes and failures. Earlier criticism had not addressed the complex situation of King's last years when he encountered the intractable northern

ghetto, seemed ineffectual to younger African Americans, and was attacked for opposition to the Vietnam War. Dionsopoulos et al. offered an examination of King's speech "A Time To Break Silence." The address followed a self-imposed silence concerning the war during which advisers put pressure on King to avoid public opposition to the war and linking the war to the civil rights movement. During the speech King denounced the Johnson Administration's policy in Vietnam, defended his authority as a civil rights leader to speak out on the war, and argued that his civil rights and antiwar stances were interrelated. Dionsopoulos et. al. discussed and developed the term rhetorical trajectories, traced the trajectories present in the rhetoric of King in order to set a context for "A Time To Break Silence," and analyzed the speech.

"A Time To Break Silence" was marked by three thematic movements. King established the necessity to protest against the war and identified himself as a speaker on behalf of those affected by the war. In doing this he listed seven reasons for his opposition to the war. It distracted America from civil rights and poverty. African Americans were dying in disproportionate numbers. It made a mockery of calls for nonviolence. It destroyed the human soul. His dissent was required as a condition of accepting a Nobel Peace Prize. It was required by his status as a minister. He would prefer to focus on the needs of the poor. King developed a history of the war as seen from the eyes of a Vietnamese peasant. The

Vietnamese peasants did not want America in their country. He also attempted to explain the viewpoint of the American enemy. Finally, King pleaded for a revolution of values in America. He demanded an end to all bombing, a unilateral cease fire, immediate steps to prevent the war from spreading elsewhere, and a set date by which all foreign troops would be withdrawn in accordance with the 1954 Geneva agreement. He also called for a fundamental rethinking of American values. King transformed the war into an example of "Western arrogance." He cast America into the role of a greedy reactionary preying on the oppressed and squandering its own talent in the pursuit of an unjust war (Dionsopoulos et al., 1992).

Finally, in summarizing more contemporary scholarship regarding King, I will summarize four dissertations. Nimocks (1986) applied content analysis measures to the American civil rights movement and the Indian independence movement and to five speeches delivered by King and Mahatma Gandhi. Applying what was labeled the Nonviolent Efficacy Theory, Nimocks measured 16 variables within the two movements, variables such as the level of identification of followers and level of motivation of followers. Despite offering lengthy formulas for measuring these variables, Nimocks did not apply the specific formulas, perhaps due to a lack of available information.

Nimocks (1986) theorized that the two most important variables determining nonviolent efficacy are cultural preferences for nonviolence and a high level of credibility for common higher standards, concepts, and authorities used in persuasive appeals. However, Nimocks also pointed out that the fact that these two variables were present in both the Indian independence movement and the United States civil rights movement does not prove this theory.

Dombrowski (1990) developed an existential psychological rhetorical perspective based on the major features of Irvin Yalom's existential psychology. These features were death and transcendence, existential freedom, existential isolation, and meaninglessness. Dombrowski seemed to argue that these features represent needs which rhetors attempt to fulfill for their audiences, much like appeals based on Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Death would include its inverse life and the desire for transcendence. The knowledge of death would cause people to give their life meaning through transcendence. Existential freedom would involve responsibility and the application of the will. Existential isolation would involve the attendant impulse to sociality, and meaninglessness would involve the attendant impulse to accept meanings.

Polle (1990) isolated five steps of the nonviolent civil rights movement led by King. These steps were: analysis, which involved interpreting the scene; advocacy, which

involved advancing a solution; attraction, which involved mobilizing a following; action, which involved the actual nonviolent protest; and adjustment, which involved adjusting and responding to various responses of nonviolent protests.

Bobbit (1992) developed Burke's theory of guilt-purification-redemption and applied that theory to King's "Dream" speech. The speech was treated as a representative anecdote of the moderate wing of the first phase of the civil rights movement.

Miller (1992) has published an influential book dealing with King. Miller argued that King was influenced more by the African-American church than by his formal education. He also asserted that King relied heavily on this African-American oral tradition in composing his sermons as well as his speeches. King's rhetoric was heavily influenced by passages borrowed from other speakers.

The body of literature regarding Malcolm X is substantially smaller than the body of literature regarding King. Two scholarly articles were written in the 1960s dealing with Malcolm X, and two dissertations dealing with him have been written since 1985.

McEdwards (1968) examined the nature of agitative rhetoric and pointed to the discourse of Malcolm X as an example of such rhetoric. She began by discussing the negative connotation associated with agitative rhetoric. She speculated that this negative connotation arose from the fact

that people object to being stirred up or excited out of their placid existence. She also defined agitative rhetoric as discourse designed specifically to produce movement away from the status quo. Agitation was differentiated from invective in that invective would contain personal bitterness and would be addressed to an individual. However, agitative rhetoric would generally lack this bitterness and would be designed to change the status quo to benefit others rather than to be a narrow personal attack benefiting only the speaker. The agitator would know that his success depended on the emotional and intellectual involvement of the full electorate. With this in mind, he would use meeting with supporters and friends as a convenient forum for prodding the larger audience of the general public.

Scott (1968A) examined not only the rhetoric of Malcolm X but also Malcolm X's legacy as articulated by Black Power advocates such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. Scott pointed to three characteristics of Black Power rhetoric. First, Black Power should be interpreted as advocating violence. Second, this advocacy of violence was justificatory, and third, the vision articulated in Black Power rhetoric was consistent with many African Americans' interpretations of their situation.

Scott (1968A) articulated a belief that if whites were to accept the ideas of Black Power advocates as legitimate, America would be ready to build a new reality for African

Americans or at least rethink some fundamental American axioms. This was important because while white power was certainly in a position to overcome Black Power, this would destroy America. The segregationist dream of a contented, dependent, deferential African-American minority could only be accomplished in a police state. Thus, Scott concluded that America must at least support Black Power advocates' attempt to develop economic and political power for African-American communities.

There have been two dissertations dealing with Malcolm X. Norman (1985) examined the transformation of a religious cult into a social movement, which ultimately matured as an institutional religious denomination. She examined the three primary leaders of the Nation of Islam--Wallace Fard, Elijah Muhammad, and Malcolm X. Each leader sought to promote the social goals of the nation. Malcolm X in particular blended his street wisdom with the Nation's theology and philosophy. His urban background enabled him to make the Black Muslim myth salient to his contemporary audience.

Gay (1985) has produced the only rhetorical analysis in the form of a dissertation dealing exclusively with Malcolm X. Gay employed the movement theories of James Andrews to examine the Black Muslim movement. However, most of Gay's dissertation was a Neo-Aristotelian analysis of the speaking of Malcolm X. In conducting his analysis Gay examined Malcolm X's rhetoric according to the classical canons of

rhetoric. To examine Malcolm X's logos Gay employed the Stephen Toulmin model of informal argument. By using the Toulmin model Gay argued that Malcolm X's speeches were filled with valid arguments.

Method

The method will consist of three parts. First, it will explore the surface to the texts with explicit questioning. Secondly, it will explore the narrative emerging in the texts according to the taxonomy of the hero's quest outlined by Joseph Campbell. Campbell (1949) clearly and succinctly outlines the elements of a hero's journey:

A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man.

The hero's adventure begins when the hero ventures forth into a strange place. The hero achieves great victories and receives many honors. However, the hero selflessly returns from this strange place to save others. The mythic hero manages to bring salvation to his people (Segal, 1990).

The hero must survive a succession of trials and may be tempted to give up his quest. The hero returns with a boon for his people, and this boon brings salvation to his people (Campbell, 1949).

Finally, it will explore the deep structure of the texts relying heavily on metaphoric analysis. The goal of metaphoric analysis, beginning with Michael Osborn (1967) and

continuing through the present, has been to give us a sense of the speaker's voice as an articulator of a particular vision. The hope has been that a close reading of metaphoric patterns will reveal a larger vision, a vision that utters a moral conception of social order. In short, metaphoric analysis was designed to reveal the particular moral signature of rhetors, to isolate the essence of their moral voice in contrast with other voices and to trace that voice's maturation over time. Thus, the voice is not a separate historical entity, but a single voice, changing over time in dialogue with other voices, sometimes clear and other times muddy, conflicted, disillusioned, or ambiguous. The chief practitioner of this method is Robert Ivie (1974, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1987).

Much of Ivie's scholarship has dealt with war discourse. Ivie isolates two patterns of metaphor: clusters and agons. Using Ivie's theories, this study will explore the clusters and agons present in the discourse of King and Malcolm X. Clusters are patterns of associated metaphors that run throughout a text. Agons are sets of opposed metaphors. Clusters give a text a sense of affirmation of value. Agons define the antithetical moral universe; they give a text a sense of struggle and moral mission. The notion of agons is based heavily on Kenneth Burke's notion of ultimate terms. Agons represent the contrast between god-terms and devil-terms.

The method of metaphoric analysis used in this study will subject the speeches of King and Malcolm X to various steps of analysis. First, I will familiarize myself with the texts and contexts in which they were delivered. Secondly, I will undertake a close reading to identify and mark metaphors used by each speaker. Next, I will arrange the metaphors used by each speaker into subgroups by clustering similar metaphors together. Finally, these clusters will be analyzed for patterns of usage within and between clusters, thereby revealing the speaker's system of metaphorical concepts as well as the underlying metaphoric structure of each speaker's narrative. When this process has been completed, I will be in a position to assess both the limits and untapped potential of each rhetor's metaphorical system. The message of both rhetors will also be examined according to the encompassing journey metaphor within each rhetor's message, which represents an heroic journey. This heroic quest will be examined according to the taxonomy proposed by Joseph Campbell.

This section has proposed a method for analyzing the discourse of King and Malcolm X. First, the method will explore the surface of the texts with explicit question. Secondly, it will examine the narrative emerging within the discourse according to Campbell's taxonomy of the heroic journey. Thirdly, it will explore the deep structure of the texts using Ivie's method of cluster analysis.

CHAPTER 4

THE UNIVERSAL JOURNEY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

One of the fundamental myths of Western civilization is that of the questing hero. It has provided thematic unity for our epic stories from Homer's Odyssey to Mann's Magic Mountain. It is also an underlying theme of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s discourse. It informs his persona, structures his rhetoric, and provides a model of exemplary life for the masses who respond to his message.

The hero's journey has fascinated both mythological as well as literary scholars. Campbell (1949) clearly and succinctly outlines the elements of a hero's quest:

A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man.

The hero's adventure begins in separation; he leaves family and community for a journey into the darkness. Here he faces a series of tests such as riddles, combats, or captivities. The hero achieves great victories and receives gifts. However, the hero has transcended his personal ambition. Dying to personal ambition, he wishes to serve others. Returning home, the mythic hero attempts to bring salvation to his people although, as in the case of King Arthur, Roland, or Hans Castrop, he is not always successful in doing so (Segal, 1990).

During his journey, the hero is assisted by a protector. In Christian myths this protector takes the form of the Holy Spirit. In Jewish myths, Jehovah watches over the Jews. The hero is often isolated during his journey. Jonah was in the belly of the whale. Moses was left alone in the bulrushes and went alone to Mount Sinai to receive the Ten Commandments, and Jesus was buried in the tomb. The hero must survive a succession of trials and may be tempted to give up on his quest. The hero returns with a boon for his people, and this boon brings salvation to his people (Campbell, 1949). This chapter will analyze King's birth as a hero, the rhetorical journey he undertakes, the vision of the community which emerges in his discourse, his death, and his legacy.

Birth of a Hero

In the retrospective construction of King's "story," the young visiting minister from Boston and Atlanta was fated to emerge as the leader of the civil rights movement on December 1, 1955, when Rosa Parks took her famous ride on a Montgomery city bus. On that day Mrs. Parks boarded a bus and sat down in a seat on the eleventh row. The first ten rows of a Montgomery city bus were reserved for white passengers. When all of the seats on the bus were full, a white passenger boarded, and the bus driver ordered that four African Americans on the eleventh row give up their seats. Three of

the passengers moved. Parks remained seated and was arrested (Abernathy, 1989).

After her arrest the African-American ministers of Montgomery met Friday evening, December 2, 1955, in the basement of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, where King was a visiting minister, to organize a protest against the treatment of African Americans riding city buses. The ministers agreed to ask their congregations not to ride the city buses and called for another meeting on Monday, December 5, 1955, to decide whether or not to extend the boycott. The Monday boycott was a tremendous success, and the ministers met that evening and formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to lead the boycott. King was elected leader of the group, and a 385-day boycott resulted in complete desegregation of the Montgomery transportation system. His leadership role in the Montgomery bus boycott marked his sudden emergence as a leader of the civil rights movement. King began his heroic journey in Montgomery, a journey leading him to travel across the South with sit-ins, freedom rides, and marches. Although King did not begin these far flung efforts, he was drawn into them as the catalyst. He journeyed to Birmingham, Washington, Selma, and eventually to Memphis. I will now discuss the heroic journey as it informed King's rhetoric and the kind of universe it constructed for his constituency.

Journey

In tracing the hero narrative created by King, it is important to note that King identified his personal journey and that of his constituents with the historic conception of African Americans as a people destined to move from freedom to bondage to freedom again after the manner of the ancient Israelites. King often spoke of his journey to bring equality to his people. He developed a powerful metaphor: The March.

One of the many literal marches of the civil rights movement which helped to construct the journey narrative was the march from Selma to Montgomery, which ended on the steps of the Alabama capital building on March 25, 1965. King declared the march a great victory, proclaiming Selma, "a shining moment in the conscience of man."

"There never was a moment in American history more honorable and more inspiring than the pilgrimage of clergymen and laymen of every race and faith pouring into Selma to face danger at the side of its embattled Negroes," King says. King also speaks of the victory of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. King refers to the march as a triumph and asserts that it is a step towards African Americans gaining access to the American dream when he says, "Let us therefore continue our triumph and march to the realization of the American dream."

King's marches allowed him to achieve great victories. Although he did not take direct credit for these victories,

his rhetoric may have fostered a sense of inevitable victory for African Americans. The first victory King spoke of was the Supreme Court's Brown decision of May 17, 1954. King was speaking in front of the Lincoln Memorial during the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom on May 17, 1957. King often spoke of great victories won by African Americans. A decade later many of these victories seemed hollow little more than symbolic victories but to his audience in 1957, they were the footsteps of God.

In his "I Have a Dream" speech, King speaks of the unfilled promise of the Emancipation Proclamation. By portraying the Emancipation Proclamation and the "Brown" decision as unfulfilled yet soon to be realized victories, King's rhetoric works to produce a narrative portraying himself as the hero able to achieve meaningful victories. King's rhetoric works to weave a victory narrative through the creation of a sense of inevitable freedom, equality, and integration in America. In accepting the Nobel Peace prize on December 10, 1964, in Oslo, Norway, King asserted that under his leadership African Americans were indeed achieving great victories: "I accept this award on behalf of a civil rights movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of freedom and rule of justice." King went on to speak of a new civil rights bill that African Americans acquired on "the

tortuous road which has led from Montgomery, Alabama, to Oslo."

King also speaks of great victories in his speech after the Selma march. He credits the Selma march with having forced President Johnson to support the cause of civil rights more strongly, recounts victories in Birmingham and Montgomery, and declares segregation on its deathbed in Alabama:

From Montgomery to Birmingham, from Birmingham to Selma, from Selma back to Montgomery, a trail wound in a circle and often bloody, yet it has become a highway up from the darkness. Alabama has tried to nurture and defend evil, but the evil is choking to death in the dusty roads and streets of this state.

So I stand before you this afternoon with the conviction that segregation is on its deathbed in Alabama and the only thing uncertain about it is how costly the segregationists and Wallace will make the funeral.

While the Selma march was not a total victory, it was a great victory. King declares, "Nonviolence and its power transformed dark yesterdays into bright tomorrows." Perhaps as important as the victories King celebrates in his Selma speech are the victories he predicts. Although King did not live to see his vision of racial harmony in this country, he was able to create ultimate equality and victory for African Americans. By ending his speech with the words of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," King is able to create the complete abolishment of segregation in the South. It is also interesting that he chooses the words of a song associated with Union troops during the Civil War. This seems to be an

extension of a theme articulated in his "I Have a Dream" speech. King's rhetoric articulates a vision of the civil rights movement as an extension of the mission begun by the Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil War. King also discusses great victories during the journey in his final address, "I See the Promised Land," delivered April 3, 1968, the night before his assassination. King discusses actual victories which had been won, such as the Birmingham campaign. But more importantly, King discusses a coming victory when he compares the plight of African Americans, specifically the striking sanitation workers in Memphis, to Jews during the Exodus. The sanitation workers, however, can be seen to represent the entire African-American population. The mayor of Memphis is compared to the Pharaoh, but again this analogy can be extrapolated to represent the white power structure as a whole. Essentially, in this speech Memphis becomes a microcosm for the worldwide struggle between the empowered and the disempowered. Rhetorically, King is able to complete the hero's journey. Although he never actually completes the journey, just as Beowulf slays Grendal and his mother, just as Matt Dillon chases the men in black hats out of Dodge, just as Christ rises from the dead, and just as Moses leads the Jews out of Egypt, King rhetorically takes his people to the promised land.

In concluding his speech in almost strangely prophetic fashion King seems to predict his own death:

Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And he's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people will get to the promised land.

Suffering and Sacrifice

King's rhetoric portrays a hero who has made sacrifices on his journey; but his journey is not the isolated pilgrimage of the Greek hero. It is a communal journey. The gift that African Americans gain through challenges and suffering gives them a special mission and role for the redemption of the world. King speaks of lynching, the denial of voting rights, and persecution by the Ku Klux Klan in discussing challenges along the way during the journey to freedom. He also points out African Americans are never alone in their "march" reminding his audience in a speech delivered May 17, 1954, "God struggles with us."

King's most famous oration, "I Have a Dream," also refers to suffering encountered by both himself and African Americans as a group. He begins the speech by reminding the audience that African Americans have suffered greatly under slavery; and even though they have been freed from slavery by the Emancipation Proclamation, the promises of freedom have not been made real. He reminds the audience that African Americans have been forced to endure the humiliation of segregation, have been victims of police brutality, have been economically disadvantaged, and have not been allowed to

vote. Thus, King transforms those burdens that Americans traditionally assign to personal failure or weakness and recontextualizes them as signs of Godly election.

King used his periodic jailing as a metaphor for the isolation of segregation. King's rhetoric works to produce an image of a sacrificing and suffering people when he says:

I am not unmindful that some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality.

He goes on to point out that "the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of prosperity." This powerful metaphor serves to illustrate the suffering and isolation of the African American.

At least one of King's speeches deals almost exclusively with sacrifice. King delivered "Eulogy for the Martyred Children" at the funeral of three young girls killed in a church bombing in Birmingham. In this speech King weaves his own hero narrative about the girls, portraying them as Christ figures. They have been killed, but salvation will ultimately result from their execution. King says, "They died nobly. They are the martyred heroines of a holy crusade for freedom and human dignity." He goes on to say:

So they did not die in vain. God still has a way of wringing good out of evil. History has proven over and over again that unmerited suffering is redemptive. The innocent blood of these little girls may well serve as the redemptive force that will bring new light to this dark city. The holy Scripture says, 'A little child shall lead them.' The death of these innocent girls may cause the whole citizenry of Birmingham to transform

the negative extremes of a dark past into the positive extremes of a bright future. Indeed this tragic event may cause the white South to come to terms with its conscience.

This speech serves to reinforce the powerful recontextualization of suffering and sacrifice. During the journey suffering always enables and redeems the sufferer.

King also spoke of the compensatory value of sacrifice when he accepted the Nobel Prize. He accepted the award as African Americans endured a "long night of racial injustice." He mentions the sacrifices made in Birmingham, where African Americans marching for freedom were met with "fire hoses, snarling dogs, and even death." He mentions the murders of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Mississippi, and he mentions that African Americans also suffer because they are economically disempowered in America.

Suffering is a major theme in the speech King gave at the conclusion of the march from Selma to Montgomery. King speaks of literal suffering encountered during the march, "Some of our faces are burned from the outpourings of the sweltering sun. Some have literally slept in the mud. We have been drenched by rains."

While King is speaking of literal hardships encountered during the march, this literal suffering can also be seen as a metaphor for many other hardships endured by African Americans. For instance, King also speaks of the hardships of segregation and the denial of the vote to African Americans: "The threat of the free exercise of the ballot by

the Negro and the white masses alike resulted in the establishing of a segregated society." King also mentions that African Americans are the victims of bombings of their homes and churches.

In a speech dealing with the Vietnam War and not civil rights directly, King also speaks of suffering. However, in this speech King speaks more of suffering on a global level. In his other speeches King speaks primarily of African-American suffering; in this address he speaks of suffering on a world-wide level. He is concerned not just with the suffering of African Americans but with the suffering of all the dark peoples of the world. The universality of King's values did not permit him to speak of personal or even group advantage.

King states early in the speech on Vietnam that the United States government bears "their greatest responsibility in ending a conflict that has exacted a heavy price on both continents." The Vietnam War caused suffering for many reasons, among them being the redirection of money away from needed social programs. The United States government was not able to invest financial resources in the poor of America because too much money was being spent on Vietnam. According to King the war was a manipulation of the poor.

King also acknowledges the suffering of the Vietnamese when he speaks of the relationship between American Christians and the Vietnamese, "We are called to speak for

the weak, for the voiceless, for victims of our nation and for those it calls enemy, for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers."

Just as African Americans have suffered and sacrificed for years under an oppressive American government, the Vietnamese were now suffering atrocities under the same government:

Now they languish under our bombs and consider us--not their fellow Vietnamese--the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they will be destroyed by our bombs. So they go--primarily women and children and the aged.

They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy precious trees. They wander into the hospitals with at least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. So far we have killed a million of them, mostly children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.

These atrocities have caused America to stray from the intended destination of King's journey. America is concentrating her energies in the wrong place. No good can come out of the suffering in Vietnam. It is not noble and it is not redemptive. America has strayed from the path outlined in King's journey.

King continues the discussion of the unredemptive suffering in Vietnam:

We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the

crushing of the nation's only non-Communist revolutionary political force--the unified Buddhist church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men.

Finally, in discussing aspects of suffering and sacrifice in King's rhetoric, I will examine these motifs as they appear in his final public speech, "I See the Promised Land." King uses an extended metaphor to discuss sacrifice. He uses the biblical parable of the Good Samaritan. King recounts the story. A man has been robbed by thieves and left injured on the Jericho Road. Two very holy and righteous men pass the injured man but do not stop to help. However, a Samaritan comes by and stops to help.

Although stopping to help does not prove to be a sacrifice for the Samaritan, King explains that the sacrifice comes in the form of the risk taken by the Samaritan when he explains why the previous two men do not stop:

It's possible that these men were afraid. You see, the Jericho Road is a dangerous road. I remember when Mrs. King and I were first in Jerusalem. We rented a car and drove from Jerusalem down to Jericho. And as soon as we got on the road I said to my wife, 'I can see why Jesus used this as a setting for his parable.' It's a winding, meandering road. It's really conducive for ambushing. You start out in Jerusalem, which is about 1,200 miles, or rather 1,200 feet above sea level. And by the time you get down to Jericho, fifteen or twenty minutes later, you're about 2,200 feet below sea level. That's a dangerous road. In the days of Jesus it came to be known as the 'Bloody Pass.' And you know, it's possible that the priest and the Levite looked over at that man on the ground and wondered if the robbers were still around. Or it's possible that they felt that the man on the ground was merely faking. And he was acting like he had been robbed and hurt, in order to seize them over there, lure them there for quick and easy seizure.

The first two men ask the question, "If I stop to help this man, what will happen to me?"

However, the Good Samaritan comes by and asks, "If I do not stop to help this man, what will happen to him?"

King then goes on to say that the audience in Memphis must be prepared to make sacrifices:

That's the question before you tonight. Not, 'If I stop to help the sanitation workers what will happen to all of the hours that I usually spend in my office every day and every week as pastor?' The question is not, 'If I stop to help this man in need, what will happen to me? If I do not stop to help the sanitation workers what will happen to them? That's the question.

Through the use of the extended metaphor of the Good Samaritan, King is able to illustrate the importance of sacrifice to the quest for equality. The sacrifices necessary to the sanitation strike in Memphis had become a microcosm for the larger struggle. It is also important that the sacrificer was a Samaritan. Samaritans were looked down upon by Jews. If a Samaritan could risk his life for a Jew, then African Americans and whites can sacrifice for one another to bring about the promised land at the end of King's journey.

Vision

The notion of the Beloved Community is very important to King's theology and is also present in his rhetoric. King's rhetoric weaves a narrative where the entire world will benefit from racial harmony. The civil rights movement is designed to create a society where everyone will live in

brotherhood. King is also always careful to remind African Americans that just because they have suffered does not mean that they should cause whites to suffer.

King's speech, "A Time to Break Silence" clearly illustrates his universal vision. While King's discussion of the suffering of the Vietnamese condition can be dismissed as nothing more than an emotional appeal, the adroit rhetorical scholar will realize that King's portrayal of Vietnamese suffering serves to include the Vietnamese people in King's rhetorical vision. However, more important than simply including the Vietnamese in his vision, by speaking of worldwide suffering, King includes all oppressed peoples in his heroic journey. He claims that America is on the wrong side of a world revolution:

During the past ten years we have seen emerge a pattern of suppression which now has justified the presence of U.S. military advisors in Venezuela. The need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for the counter-revolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Columbia and why American napalm and green beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru.

By including the suffering of oppressed revolutionaries around the world, King expands his rhetorical vision to include all people of color that have been oppressed by the Western white power structure.

Although "A Time to Break Silence" clearly illustrates the global nature of King's vision, a better understanding of the changing nature of his vision can be gained by examining

King's vision as an emerging narrative following the outline of the literary adventure proposed by Mikhail Bakhtin (1981). However, it is first necessary to explore Bakhtin's taxonomy of an adventure. In discussing the literary adventure, Bakhtin asserts that this form can be found in the adventure novel of everyday life. While Bakhtin writes, "In a strict sense only two works belong to this category: the Satyricon of Petronius and The Golden Ass of Apuleius," he does acknowledge that the characteristic features of the adventure occur in many other works, particularly several works from early Christian literature on the lives of the saints. The narrative emerging in King's rhetoric undoubtedly portrays him as saintly.

Bakhtin (1981) sets forth two requirements for the adventure novel of everyday life. The main character must undergo a metamorphosis in the form of crisis and rebirth. The adventure novel focuses on the exceptional moments of a man's life. The hero undergoes a series of adventures which results in a transformation. Of particular importance to the adventure is the metaphor of the path of life. According to Bakhtin, in discourse a road is almost never merely a road but almost always has a deeper metamorphic meaning. Having briefly outlined the important elements of Bakhtin's notion of the adventure novel of everyday life, I will now illustrate how King's vision undergoes a metamorphosis during his journey.

King's journey began with his hope for equality for African Americans. In "Give Us the Ballot-We Will Transform the South," delivered in May of 1957, King set out on a journey to gain the promise of desegregation handed down by the Supreme Court in the "Brown" decision and to obtain the right of full suffrage for African Americans. King specifically refers to this journey when he says that God is leading African Americans "out of a bewildering Egypt, through a bleak and desolate wilderness, toward a bright and glittering promised land."

When King delivered "I Have a Dream," he was still on a quest for basic human rights for African Americans. He speaks of integration and racial harmony, but his vision essentially focuses on basic civil rights for African Americans, and he seeks to bring African Americans the same opportunity as whites. His vision essentially entails allowing African Americans access to the rights they had been promised in the Emancipation Proclamation.

However, in "I Have a Dream," it is possible to see the metamorphosis of King's vision beginning to occur. King's vision is beginning to become more encompassing. His dream is not an African American dream but an American dream. The universality of his vision is illustrated when he says:

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny, and they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound

to our freedom. This offense we share, mounted to storm the battlements of injustice, must be carried forth by a biracial army. We cannot walk alone.

In this passage King has expanded his vision to include whites. He has specifically invited whites to join the civil rights movement. This is the beginning of the metamorphosis of his vision and the final step to his final all-encompassing narrative.

King's metamorphosis continues in his "Nobel Prize Acceptance" speech. In this speech King's vision of equality and harmony includes not only Americans but all of humanity. King accepted the prize not on behalf of the American civil rights movement but as a testimony to the power of nonviolence to tie together various groups around the world:

Negroes of the United States, following the people of India, have demonstrated that nonviolence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force which makes for social transformation. Sooner or later, all of the people of the world will have to discover a way to live together in peace, and thereby transform this pending cosmic elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood.

If this is to be achieved, man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression, and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love.

In the above passage, King's vision has evolved to include not just equality for African Americans, but harmony for all of humankind. When King speaks of the power of love, he is not speaking of the power of love to provide decent housing for African Americans. He is not speaking of the power of love to bring equal employment opportunities to African Americans. His vision is much more encompassing.

His narrative has evolved to include the power of love to save the world from war, racism, famine, and suffering.

Later in the "Nobel Prize Acceptance" speech King speaks of "a more noble civilization," an "audacious faith in the future of mankind." These comments illustrate the evolution of his vision to include all of humankind. His vision further seeks to encompass all of humanity when he says, "I have the audacity to believe that peoples everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality, and freedom for their spirits." King's quest for equality continued; however, he had undergone a tremendous change. A vision that had originated as a quest to secure basic human rights for African Americans was now a quest attempting to secure these same rights for all of the citizens of the world.

"A Time to Break Silence," King's speech outlining his position on the Vietnam War continues the construction of a vision of basic human rights for all of humanity. King's concern is again global, moving beyond the boundaries of the United States. In this speech King's primary concern is not with the people of America but with the people of Vietnam. Again, King speaks of a path, a path leading from Montgomery to his taking a stance on Vietnam. This path is significant because it is the visionary path of his metamorphosis from a local pastor concerned about the state of African Americans in the South to a world leader advocating world peace.

King speaks to an American audience, but he is speaking on behalf of the people of Vietnam. Early in the speech King acknowledges that he is bringing Vietnam into his "moral vision," a vision which has now evolved to include the entire world. In incorporating the people of Vietnam into his vision, King binds the Vietnamese and Americans together: "If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read Vietnam. It can never be saved as long as it destroys the deepest hopes of men all over the world."

King also uses Christianity to include the people of Vietnam in his vision. Just as the New Testament authors weave a narrative proclaiming that Christ has brought a message of love and hope to all the world, King's vision seeks to use Christianity to include others in his vision when he points out, "The good news was meant for all men--for communist and capitalists, for their children and ours, for black and for white, for revolutionary and conservative."

In using Christianity to articulate a vision bringing all men together in peace, love, and harmony, King again refers to the road from Montgomery:

Finally, as I try to delineate for you and for myself the road that leads from Montgomery to this place I would have offered all that was most valid if I simply said that I must be true to my conviction that I share with all men the calling of the son of the living God. Beyond the calling of race or nation or creed is the vocation of sonship and brotherhood, and because I believe that the Father is deeply concerned especially for his suffering and helpless and outcast children, I come tonight to speak for them.

Here King uses the metaphor of Christian brotherhood to include all humankind in his vision of peace and equality between all races.

King goes on to include the Vietnamese in his vision by describing the atrocities they have endured, just as many of his earlier speeches have described the atrocities incurred by African Americans. The Vietnamese have been denied the right of independence. American troops have poured into their country. King continues to illustrate the hardship of the Vietnamese people:

Now they languish under our bombs and consider us--not their fellow Vietnamese--the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know that they must move or be destroyed by our bombs. So they go--primarily women and children and the aged.

They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals, with at least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them--mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see their children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.

King goes on to describe the Vietnamese suffering:

We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed the land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing of the nation's only non-Communist revolutionary political force--the unified Buddhist church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men.

By describing these atrocities, King is able to include the Vietnamese in his vision of wiping out suffering and providing peace and harmony. He also includes the Vietnamese by referring to them as "brothers."

King then moves to include another group in his vision of harmony between all of humankind. King begins to speak in defense of the North Vietnamese. He advocates an understanding of the Vietnamese perspective:

Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and nonviolence when it helps us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves. For from his view we may indeed see the basic weakness of our own condition, and if we are mature, we may learn to grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition.

By using the metaphor of brotherhood to describe the North Vietnamese, King includes the Communist, enemies of the United States, in his harmonious vision of the promised land of brotherhood and equality.

King also aligns the North Vietnamese with other suffering people in his vision. The North Vietnamese were freedom fighters, who had been betrayed by America and had not been given access to America's democratic ideals. King also refers to the global nature of his vision when he speaks of injustices being perpetrated by the American military in other parts of the world, such as Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, and Peru.

King continues to include all of the people of the world in his global vision, when he begins to speak of a revolutionary vision:

All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression, and out of the wombs of a frail world, new systems of justice are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light.

In this passage King does not mention race. King's vision has undergone another metamorphosis. What began as a vision of equality for African Americans has been transformed into a vision economically empowering all of the economically disempowered. The metaphors of being shirtless and barefoot represent a lack of economic power.

King's vision has been transformed from a vision ending racism to a vision ending racism, poverty, and all injustices. Brotherhood and value for humanity are the ways to achieve this justice:

Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies.

This call for a world-wide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all men.

King's vision at this point is no longer an African-American vision. It is no longer an American vision. It is a global vision of love for all humankind, "Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality."

Careful examination of the narrative emerging in King's rhetoric illustrates that this narrative articulates a

changing vision. King's vision and ultimate goal undergo a metamorphosis. He originally seeks to secure basic human rights for African Americans in the South. At the end of his life King's vision is of a world at peace and in harmony.

Apart from the theme of the myth that gives the narrative its structure and trajectory is the language of the journey. There is a deeper logic than the exposition of the journey; this is embodied in the families or clusters of metaphors, images that give the narrative its grounding in the daily lives of the audience.

Analysis of King's speeches reveals seven clusters of vehicles that appear consistently throughout his speeches. These clusters are the journey cluster, the water cluster, the sickness cluster, the mountain and valley cluster, the dream cluster, the weather cluster, and the economic cluster.

Journey Metaphors

I will first discuss the JOURNEY cluster comprising such terms as "road," "march," "path," "mobilized," "pilgrimage," "trail," "street," and "highway." King's rhetoric creates a journey narrative. Journey metaphors are, of course, important to this narrative. King's 1965 speech at the end of the march from Selma to Montgomery is filled with such journey metaphors. The march is called a "pilgrimage." The African-American struggle is a "bloody journey" that becomes "a highway up from darkness." Journey metaphors illustrate progress in the struggle. In King's narrative, road and

street metaphors illustrate where progress is taking place: "Alabama has tried to nurture and defend evil, but the evil is choking to death in the dusty roads and streets of this state." King later uses the journey metaphor to represent the struggle for equality when he says, "Yes, we are on the move."

He again alluded to the journey through a marching metaphor:

Like an idea whose time has come, not even the marching of mighty armies can halt us. We are moving to the land of freedom.

Let us therefore continue our triumph and march to the realization of the American dream. Let us march on segregated housing, until every ghetto of social and economic depression dissolves and Negroes and whites live side by side in decent, safe, and sanitary housing.

Let us march on segregated schools until every vestige of segregated and inferior education becomes a thing of the past, and Negroes and whites study side by side in the socially healing context of the classroom.

Let us march on poverty, until no American parent has to skip a meal so that their children may march on poverty, until no starved man walks the streets of our cities and towns in search of jobs that do not exist.

Let us march on ballot boxes, march on ballot boxes until race baiters disappear from the political arena. Let us march on ballot boxes until the Wallaces of our nation tremble away in silence.

Let us march on ballot boxes until we send to our city councils, state legislatures, and the United States Congress men who will not fear to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with their God. Let us march on ballot boxes until all over Alabama God's children will be able to walk the earth in decency and honor.

Here, King uses the metaphor of the march to show the progress being made and to enlarge the goals he seeks at the end of his journey. This is a movement not just for the right to ride at the front of the bus or for the right to vote. This movement seeks such goals as an end to

segregation in education and an end to poverty. King ends the speech with the words of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," another reference to marching.

King also uses journey metaphors in his speech discussing Vietnam. He notes that when he questions America's involvement in the war, many question "the wisdom of his path." He then speaks of the path which has led him to speak out against the war. In speaking out against the war, King notes that he has been "led down the path of protest." King also uses the journey metaphor to represent oppression when he speaks of the Vietnamese being herded "off the land of their fathers." The confusion and displacement of the Vietnamese people are also illustrated, "They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals." The wrong path of military aggression is contrasted with the correct path of conscientious objection:

I am pleased to say that this is the path now being chosen by more than seventy students at my own alma mater, Morehouse College, and I recommend it to all who find the American course in Vietnam a dishonorable and unjust one.

King contrasts the honorable path of conscientious objection with America's dishonorable and unjust course.

King also utilizes the metaphor of the Jericho Road, the setting for the parable of the Good Samaritan, as a setting for action in the narrative emerging in his speech on Vietnam, "One day we must come to see that the whole Jericho

Road must be transformed so that men and women will not be constantly beaten and robbed as they make their journey on life's highway." The Jericho Road is the wrong road for mankind to be on. Mankind must not choose the "path of hate."

However, in his final speech, King is able to use the vehicle of the Jericho Road to show that mankind has a choice about which way to go. Roads are vehicles for either progress or destruction. King could use road imagery to show that wrong paths are being taken. However, in his final speech, he uses the story of the Good Samaritan, set on the Jericho Road, to show that certain choices can enable roads to lead to a triumphant completion of a journey.

In his final speech King uses the extended metaphor of the Good Samaritan set on the Jericho Road to show how adverse circumstances can lead to human compassion. King uses the story of the Good Samaritan to show that if his narrative journey is to be successful, all men must get involved in the journey. The Jericho Road represents a place where good triumphs over evil. Although the road is a dangerous place, the Good Samaritan represents the necessity of joining King's journey toward brotherhood no matter what the cost. This is illustrated when King says:

That's the question before you tonight. Not, 'If I stop to help the sanitation workers what will happen to all of the hours that I usually spend in my office every day and every week as a pastor?' The question is not, 'If I stop to help this man in need, what will happen to me?

If I do not stop to help the sanitation workers what will happen to them?' That's the question.

Here, King uses the metaphor of the Jericho Road to show his audience that even though the journey toward freedom and equality may involve sacrifices, they must be willing to make those sacrifices.

The final metaphoric journey of King's Memphis speech is the final step of his narrative. In the conclusion of his address, King uses the conclusion of Moses' life to take all of humanity to the promised land of brotherhood, "I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we as a people will get to the promised land." In this passage King uses the Exodus narrative as one final journey metaphor to complete his rhetorical journey, which allows all mankind to live at peace and in harmony.

Water Metaphors

The second cluster featuring WATER contains several vehicles, including "pour," "ocean," "tide," "flood," "stream," and "river." Waterways, like roads, can be used for travel. Water also moves and changes. Water images are important to the rhetorical construction of King's journey narrative. Water metaphors are found in much of King's "I Have a Dream" speech.

King illustrates African-American isolation when he says, "The Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity." King also

uses water metaphors to illustrate a "thirst for freedom" among African Americans. Water portrays the way that justice would be received, "We will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream."

In his "Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech," King refers to the "river of life." Water metaphors are also used in his speech on Vietnam. King refers to pouring weapons of destruction upon Vietnam. He also refers to Vietnam as an "ever-rising tide of hate." In this speech King illustrates that water can also carry destructive forces. However, this is not always the case. He refers to "ebbs" of the tide which could change the course of his journey.

Sickness Metaphors

Elements of King's journey emerging in the SICKNESS cluster, include "cripple," "anemia," "deadly," symptom," "malady," "poisoned," and "madness." The sickness metaphor is used from the beginning of King's speaking. In "Give Us the Ballot-We Will Transform the South," King speaks of "crippling economic reprisals." He also uses sickness to describe the condition of those who oppose equality for African Americans: "These men so often have a high blood pressure of words and an anemia of deeds."

King's speech, "A Time to Break Silence," is also filled with sickness imagery. He speaks of the "madness" of the war and a country gone "mad" on war. He also alludes to the war

using men who have already been "crippled" by American society. He refers to the danger of "deadly Western arrogance." He speaks of the poisoning of Vietnam, both a literal poisoning of the water supply and a poisoning of the spirit of the Vietnamese. Vietnam is also "a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit." The Vietnam war not only poisons Vietnam but America as well.

Mountain and Valley Metaphors

King also relies heavily upon the metaphors of MOUNTAINS and VALLEYS. The vehicles used in this cluster include "mountains," "valleys," "rising," "hill," "highs," "lows," and "flight." King's "I Have a Dream" speech is filled with references to mountains and valleys. This speech creates a narrative moving from the valley of oppression and segregation to the mountaintop of freedom, equality, and desegregation. King uses several metaphors to make this journey, metaphors such as:

Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial injustice; now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

King also uses other valley metaphors. "Let us not wallow in the valley of despair." In articulating the direction of his journey, his narrative speaks of rising. "This nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed--we hold these truths to self-evident, that all men are created equal."

King concludes "I Have a Dream" by ending his rhetorical journey on top of the mountain of freedom and equality:

So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountaintops of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that.

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.

One other mountain metaphor in "I Have a Dream" warrants examination:

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places shall be made plain, and the crooked places shall be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.

Here King is diverted from his journey to the top of the Mountain. Ideally, the journey will take African Americans to the mountaintop. However, equality is an important goal for King; and if the mountain has to be lowered for all people to live as equals, then the mountain will be lowered.

King also articulates a narrative of a journey to great heights in his "Nobel Prize Acceptance" speech. King accepted the prize on behalf of a great struggle, which had "soared into orbit." He also spoke of "jet flights to freedom." This flight to new heights is contrasted with the despair from which many African Americans were trying to

escape, "I am mindful that debilitating and grinding poverty afflicts my people and chains them to the lowest rung of the economic ladder."

Dream Metaphors

DREAM metaphors allow King to transport his audience to the conclusion of his narrative. The most prevalent example of the dream is that which occurs in King's "I Have a Dream." As King stood at the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on August 28, 1963, the dream sequence allowed him to transport his audience to a racially harmonious America. Although his journey later evolves to include all of humanity, the dream sequence allows him to place his audience at the conclusion of his journey for racial harmony in this country. Although the dream sequence is well known, the beauty and rhetorical force of this passage dictate that it be quoted in full:

So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed--we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day, even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and

nullification, that one day, right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places shall be made straight, and the glory of the Lord will be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.

Weather Metaphors

King also uses a number of WEATHER metaphors. Among the vehicles employed in this cluster are "cool," "summer," "autumn," "whirlwinds," "warm," "storm," and "heat." Once again, King's "I Have a Dream" speech is filled with weather metaphors. King speaks of the "whirlwinds of revolt" and the "storms of persecution."

King's use of the contrasting metaphors of hot and cold is very interesting. Sometimes the conclusion of the journey toward equality and freedom is warm; other times it is cool. Metaphors using the contrasting images include: "This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality." Later in the speech, King speaks of "the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice." Heat is used to represent oppression when King describes Mississippi as "a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression."

Economic Metaphors

Finally, King draws upon ECONOMIC metaphors. Vehicles in this category include "prosperity," "check," "default,"

"promissory note," "insufficient funds," and "price." Once again, "I Have a Dream" serves to illustrate the use of economic metaphors. King uses the check metaphor in the opening of his speech:

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was the promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note in so far as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked insufficient funds. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

Vehicles in the economic cluster are also used when King speaks out against Vietnam. He notes that the war has "exactd a heavy price." Finally, King also alludes to economics in his final speech. At this point King's journey involves all races. He speaks of economic boycotts as a way of empowering the economically disempowered.

Death

Martin Luther King, Jr. was killed April 4, 1968, in Memphis. He has since become a martyred hero. In "I See the Promised Land," delivered April 3, 1968, King seems to prophesy his on death. He concludes his speech by saying:

Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about

that now. I just want to do God's will. And he's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we as a people will get to the promised land.

However, this speech is more than King's delivery of his own eulogy. In this speech King illustrates the value of sacrifice when he rhetorically takes his own life. In the conclusion of the speech King commits the ultimate sacrifice by taking his own life.

King begins the rhetorical sacrifice of his own life by discussing an incident which literally almost resulted in the end of his life. Several years earlier King had been stabbed while signing books in Harlem. The wound was so close to his aorta that the doctors remarked to the press that had he sneezed he would have died. While recovering, King received a letter from a young girl. He recounts the letter's words:

It says simply, 'Dear Dr. King: I am a ninth-grade student at the White Plains High School,' she said. 'While it should not matter, I would like to mention that I am a white girl. I read in the paper of your misfortune, and of your suffering. And I read that if you had sneezed, you would have died. And I'm simply writing you to say that I'm so happy that you didn't sneeze.'

King then recounts the great victories of the civil rights movement he would have missed had he sneezed:

Because if I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been around here in 1960 when students all over the South started sitting-in at lunch counters. And I knew that as they were sitting-in, they were really standing up for the best in the American dream and taking the whole nation back to those great walls of democracy which were dug deep by the Founding Fathers in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been around in 1962, when Negroes in

Albany, Georgia decided to straighten their backs up. They are going somewhere, because a man can't ride your back unless it is bent.

After discussing his life's victories King returns to discussing the ultimate sacrifice of his life. He allows African Americans to rhetorically achieve victory in their struggle for equality. However, in order for this victory to be achieved it is necessary for King to take his own life rhetorically. However, this ultimate sacrifice only serves to complete his heroic quest. Just as the Israelites entered the promised land after the death of Moses, just as the death of Christ brought resurrection, and just as the destruction of the Civil War brought a rebirth in Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address," King's rhetorical taking of his own life brought equality for African Americans.

However, King's rhetorical sacrifice does much more than just take African Americans to the promised land of equality in America. King's final speech and rhetorical sacrifice illustrate that King's vision has evolved to include all of humanity, not just African Americans. His vision is of an all-encompassing quest for brotherhood among all people, so when King speaks of the promised land, he is not speaking of equality for only African Americans. He is speaking of the ability of all races of the world to live in harmony. His narrative has evolved to the point of not just taking African Americans to the promised land but to the point of taking everyone to the promised land.

As in mythology, King was joined in his struggle by confederates. The concrete rhetorical style of H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael helped to define King's voice. As they organized purely tactical demonstrations, King's mode of address came to seem more abstract and removed from the battle. Also important to this struggle was the media. National media attention and television exposure allowed King's message to reach a massive audience.

Legacy

This then is the legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.--minister, political activist, and Christian. He wanted everyone to make it to the promised land. King's rhetoric reveals a hero on a quest to achieve equality for African Americans. As a hero, he was able to achieve great victories for his people, and these victories were achieved through great sacrifices. King ultimately sacrificed his life both rhetorically and literally. This sacrifice secured his place as an American icon of the civil rights movement.

During his heroic quest King was transformed from a leader with a vision for African-American equality to a leader with a vision of human rights for everyone. His journey ends when he dies having sacrificed his life so that all of humanity might reach the promised land of peace and brotherhood. His legacy is indeed powerful and similarities can be drawn between his legacy and the legacy of other great heroes, such as Christ, Moses, and Abraham Lincoln. Christ's

vision was eventually taken by the Apostle Paul to Gentiles throughout the Roman Empire. New Testament writers transformed Christ's message of love from a Jewish vision to a global vision. Examining King's vision with a keen rhetorical eye illustrates that his is a legacy not of a vision of a promised land for African Americans but a legacy of a global vision of a promised land for all races where one's race is no longer an issue.

CHAPTER 5

THE TRIBAL JOURNEY OF MALCOLM X

Malcolm X also employed the myth of the questing hero. He invented a role for himself that was both prophetic and militant. He was both the visionary and the tactician. Malcolm X's quest will also be examined according to the taxonomy of the hero's quest outlined by Joseph Campbell. Although Campbell's ideas were discussed in the previous chapter, a brief review is called for before a discussion of Malcolm X's quest. Campbell (1949) clearly and succinctly outlines the elements of a hero's journey:

A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man.

The hero's adventure begins in alienation and separation. It involves a death of the self and the gaining of a new identity. There is a time of trial and the gift of special power and insight. The mythic hero becomes an instrument for the fulfillment of a tribal or folk mission (Segal, 1990).

The hero must survive a succession of trials and may be tempted to give up his quest. The hero returns with a boon for his people, and this boon brings salvation to his people (Campbell, 1949). This chapter will analyze Malcolm X's death to self, birth as a hero, his surrogate journey, the

vision of the community he articulates, his physical death, and his legacy.

Malcolm Little's Transformation

According to the narrative recounted in his autobiography, Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925, the son of an Omaha Baptist minister who believed that African Americans should take pride in their African roots. Malcolm X's father was killed in Lansing, Michigan, when Malcolm X was six. Malcolm X's mother then began to suffer from mental problems and the strain of raising four children. She was committed to a mental institution, and Malcolm X went to live with some neighbors. At the age of 13, Malcolm X, who had often been in trouble at school was sent to a detention home in Mason, Michigan. A year later he left the detention home and moved in with a family in Mason. After staying briefly in Mason, Malcolm X moved to Boston to live with an older sister (X, 1965).

As an uneducated African American in Boston, Malcolm X took a job shining shoes in a nightclub. He was later hired to work for a railroad. He moved to New York in March 1943. He began to sell drugs, and after a dispute with a numbers runner, he returned to Boston in October 1944. While living in Boston, he became involved in a burglary ring with another African American and their two white girlfriends. He was arrested on January 12, 1946, in a jewelry store trying to reclaim a stolen watch he had left for repair. He was

indicted for selling firearms on January 15, 1946, and for larceny and breaking and entering on January 16, 1946. He began serving a prison term at Charlestown Prison on February 27, 1946. During his prison stay, Malcolm X was exposed to the Black Muslims and their leader, Elijah Muhammad. He experienced a mythical transformation experience which he compared to Paul's experience on the road to Damascus. After his conversion to Islam, he began to read and study extensively. Malcolm X was released from prison on August 7, 1952. In September of 1952 he was officially recognized by the Nation of Islam as Malcolm X (Karim, 1992).

After a period of personal training by Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X quickly rose in the Nation of Islam to become its national spokesman. Elijah Muhammad was Malcolm X's personal guide throughout his mythic journey. Eventually the guiding light was passed from Muhammad to Malcolm X. Malcolm X became the beacon and guide for African Americans just as Elijah Muhammad had been his personal guide. Through Malcolm X the Nation of Islam grew quickly and became nationally known. His powerful oratory was effective in bringing thousands into the Nation of Islam. He was able to be very persuasive to African Americans because he could easily point to cruelties which had been committed by the devil white race.

However, his views began to change when he began to examine orthodox Islam. Essential to this examination was a

visit to Mecca in 1959. Having known only racism his entire life, Malcolm X experienced in Mecca the kind of genuine kinship among all races of mankind that he believed was possible only through total submission to Allah. He had seen that all whites were not inherently evil and racist. He had come to believe that whites might be saved from racism by submitting to Allah (Paris, 1991). While heroes undergo a transformation experience, Malcolm X had now undergone two.

Malcolm X split with Elijah Muhammad in March 1964 and formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated in New York. In June 1964 Malcolm X formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity, a distinctly political organization open to non-Muslims. His break with Elijah Muhammad had left him with only a small number of actual Muslim followers. He still considered himself a Muslim. Philosophically, Malcolm X allowed for the possibility that some whites could participate in the struggle to eradicate racism, but he was not prepared to let any whites join his organization (Paris, 1991).

Malcolm X's life is highlighted by two significant conversions; first to a follower of Elijah Muhammad and later to a believer in the original Islamic religion. In his autobiography he recounts his life as being significant only because of these conversion experiences. These conversions provided Malcolm X with new insight (Owens, 1989).

In his autobiography Malcolm X divides his life into three distinct sections. First, he portrays his life before becoming a follower of Elijah Muhammad as meaningless and having no direction. Then, after accepting Elijah Muhammad's teachings that the white man is a devil responsible for the condition of African Americans, he became a loyal follower totally dedicated to Elijah Muhammad. Finally, Malcolm X's life and attitudes made more drastic changes when he realized Elijah Muhammad was a false prophet and did not present what Malcolm X believed to be the true teachings of Allah (Owens, 1989).

Malcolm X's life was a series of changes. Initially, his life was so hopeless he assumed the identity of Satan while in prison. During his first conversion, Malcolm X was saved from his hopeless life by the message of Elijah Muhammad, who taught hatred and distrust of all white men. Malcolm X's second conversion caused him to embrace orthodox Islam and soften his views toward whites.

Malcolm X was orphaned at an early age. He began his heroic journey as a hustler and a thief. He landed in prison where he became a follower of Elijah Muhammad. He visited Mecca and broke with Elijah Muhammad. His stance toward whites softened, but his heroic journey never sought to include whites. I will now discuss the heroic journey emerging in Malcolm X's rhetoric.

Journey

In tracing the hero narrative created by Malcolm X, it is important to note that Malcolm X's journey and the African-American journey are synonymous. Although Malcolm X is a Muslim and claims to speak for all mankind as a servant of Allah, his message essentially weaves a journey narrative which involves only African Americans. He articulates the goals of this journey in a speech delivered April 8, 1964, when he says, "All of our people have the same goals, the same objective. That objective is freedom, justice, equality. All of us want recognition and respect as human beings." In seeking to bring these goals to African Americans, Malcolm X's narrative first unites African Americans with colonized and oppressed dark-skinned peoples around the world.

Malcolm X's heroic narrative creates a symbolic journey for his followers. His rhetoric weaves a narrative through which African Americans cease to find their primary identification with the American nation. He urges them to join other dark peoples around the world. Thus, whenever and wherever dark peoples have achieved a victory over a white colonial power, African Americans share symbolically in the victory. Also, Malcolm X allows African Americans to achieve a kind of victory over the white power structure in this country by empowering African Americans with pride, a sense

of nationalism, and the capacity to threaten violent revolution.

One of the ways Malcolm X allows African Americans to feel a sense of power is to proclaim their similarity with Asians and Africans. Thus, when Malcolm X celebrates successful revolution in Africa, he gives African Americans a sense of belonging to a huge non-white majority. He does this in "Message to the Grass Roots" delivered November 10, 1963. He speaks of revolution in Africa. In particular, he points to victories in Kenya and Algeria. The Algerian victory over the French represents a victory for all dark peoples over the oppressive white French:

In Algeria, the northern part of Africa, a revolution took place. The Algerians were revolutionists, they wanted land. France offered to let them be integrated into France. They told France, to hell with France, they wanted some land, not some France. And they engaged in a bloody battle.

Victories had also been won by other dark peoples like the Chinese and Indians. For African Americans to align themselves with the Chinese and Indians suggested that African Americans belonged to an inevitable future in which wrongs would be righted:

The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban revolution-that's a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia. Revolution is in Africa, and the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America.

He also encourages African Americans to think of themselves as colonials, a submerged nation within a nation.

He portrays America as essentially a white nation, one in which African Americans can never feel whole. Integration makes them weak. His rhetoric often points out that putting cream in coffee makes the coffee weak, and there is nothing good about drinking an integrated cup of coffee. By creating a feeling of nationalism for African Americans, Malcolm X is able to legitimize violent revolution, a concept repugnant to King and the establishment of the civil rights movement:

When you want a nation, that's called nationalism. When the white man became involved in a revolution in this country against England, what was it for? He wanted this land so he could set up another white nation. That's white nationalism. The American Revolution was white nationalism. The French Revolution was white nationalism. The Russian Revolution too--yes, it was--white nationalism. You don't think so? Why do you think Khrushchev and Mao can't get their heads together? White nationalism. All the revolutions that are going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what?--black nationalism. A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation.

In "The Ballot or the Bullet" delivered April 3, 1964, Malcolm X continues to align African Americans with other oppressed peoples around the world. By doing this Malcolm X is able rhetorically to create a victory for African Americans. He equates the African-American struggle with a global struggle:

When you expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights, you can take the case of the black man in this country before the nations in the U. N. You can take it before the General Assembly. You can take Uncle Sam before a world court.

Malcolm X goes on to align African Americans with a worldwide majority by explaining that human rights are

"something you are born with." A rhetorical victory is achieved by Malcolm X's creating a situation where all the dark peoples of the world, who are the majority of the world's population, come to the aid of African Americans:

Expand the civil-rights struggle to the level of human rights, take it into the United Nations, where our African brothers can throw their weight on our side, where our Latin-American brothers can throw their weight on our side, and where 800 million Chinamen are sitting there waiting to throw their weight on our side.

Malcolm X then creates a rhetorical victory for African Americans by aligning them with a worldwide struggle:

The dark people are waking up. They're losing their fear of the white man. No place where he's fighting right now is he winning. Everywhere he's fighting, he's fighting someone your and my complexion. And they're beating him. He can't win anymore. He's won his last battle. He failed to win the Korean War.

In "The Black Revolution," delivered April 8, 1964, Malcolm X again aligns African Americans with a worldwide majority. This status enables African Americans to recast themselves as a majority and enables Malcolm X to create a rhetorical victory over the American white power structure portraying the dark-skinned majority as a powerful force to be feared:

In most of the thinking and planning of whites in the West today, it's easy to see the fear in their minds, conscious minds and subconscious minds, that the masses of dark people in the East, who already outnumber them will continue to increase and multiply and grow until they eventually overrun the people of the West like a human sea, a human tide, a human flood.

Malcolm X goes on to align African Americans with a worldwide majority and disempower whites when he warns whites

of the eventual African-American victory, "You are complacent simply because you think you outnumber the racial minority in this country. What you have to bear in mind is wherein you might outnumber us in this country, you don't outnumber us all over the earth."

He also points to African-American nationalism as the key to victory over the white power structure. This sense of nationalism is then tied back in with the theme of a worldwide majority of dark peoples:

What happens to a black man in America today happens to the black man in Africa. What happens to a black man in Asia and to the man down in Latin America happens to a black man in America. What happens to one of us today happens to all of us. And when this is realized, I think that the whites who are intelligent even if they aren't moral or aren't just or aren't impressed by legalities--those who are intelligent will realize that when they touch this one, they are touching all of them, and this in itself will have a tendency to be a checking factor.

By aligning African Americans with the dark peoples of the world, Malcolm X is providing the vehicle for rhetorically achieving equality. He again points to "a world-wide black revolution."

He continues to align African Americans with a worldwide majority and provide them with a sense of pride and power when he says:

Now the black revolution has been taking place in Africa and Asia and Latin America. When I say black, I mean nonwhite--black, brown, red, or yellow. Our brothers and sisters in Asia who were colonized by the Europeans, and in Latin America, the peasants, who were colonized by the Europeans, have been involved in a struggle since 1945 to get the colonist, or the colonizing powers the Europeans, off their land, out of their country.

He goes on to say, "On the world stage the white man is just a microscopic minority." He achieves a victory over the white power structure by recasting African Americans as the majority. In the "Harlem 'Hate Gang' Scare" delivered May 29, 1964, Malcolm X again achieves a rhetorical victory for African Americans by equating victories of other dark peoples as being synonymous with African-American victory:

The people of China grew tired of their oppressors and the people rose up against their oppressors. They didn't rise up nonviolently. It was easy to say that the odds were against them but eleven of them started out and today those eleven control 800 million. They would have been told back then that the odds were against them. As the oppressor always points out to the oppressed, 'The odds are against you.' When Castro was up in the mountains of Cuba, they told him that the odds were against him. Today he is sitting in Havana and all the power of this country can't remove him.

In his speech "At The Audubon" delivered December 13, 1964, Malcolm X again equates African-American victory with other revolutionary victories, "We have to realize what part our struggle has in the over-all world struggle." He goes on to say:

When you look at your and my problem in the context of the entire world and see that it is a world problem, and that there are other people on this earth who look just like you do who also have the same problem, then you and I become allies, and we can put forth our efforts in a way to get the best results.

He then equates victories being won in Africa with the struggle for freedom for African Americans:

The combination of Zanzibar and Tanganyika recently became known as the Republic of Tanzania: two countries that united are one of the most militant and uncompromising when it comes to the struggle for freedom

for our people on the African continent, as well as over here and anywhere else on this earth.

In "Prospects For Freedom in 1965" delivered January 7, 1965, Malcolm X returned to the theme of creating an African-American victory by aligning African-Americans with dark-skinned peoples around the world. He speaks of victories in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa:

Northern Rhodesia threw off the yoke of colonialism and became Zambia, and was accepted in the United Nations, the society of independent governments. Nyasaland became Malawi and also was accepted into the U. N, into the family of independent governments. Zanzibar had a revolution, threw out the colonists and their lackeys and then united with Tanganyika into what is now known as the Republic of Tanzania--which is progress indeed.

Malcolm X also allowed African Americans to achieve victory by aligning them with China:

Also in 1964, China exploded her bomb, which was a scientific breakthrough for the oppressed people in China, who suffered for a long time. I for one, was very happy to hear that the great people of China were able to display their scientific advancement, their advanced knowledge of science, to the point where a country which is so backward as China is and so behind everybody, and so poor, could come up with an atomic bomb.

By aligning African Americans with China, Malcolm X is asserting that dark peoples of the world are a majority and victory for any dark race is victory for African Americans. However, Malcolm X has the power only to align African Americans with the Chinese rhetorically. Since he has no real power base, he is forced to use rhetoric to try and gain a mainstream constituency. Such statements are typical of Malcolm X's rhetoric. They are often made for shock value

and to gain attention. While African Americans obviously suffered discrimination, no rational individual would have suggested their human rights would have been more respected in China.

In articulating this notion of African Americans being part of a worldwide majority Malcolm X is attempting to gain a constituency, a constituency of angry young African Americans. Malcolm X is a showman attempting to find an audience. Martin Luther King was the legitimate power behind the civil rights movement. Malcolm X was trying to gain a nationwide following and gain some attention. Thus, he sought to grab attention and headlines by trying to align African Americans with a worldwide majority. African Americans in Harlem had about as much in common with the Chinese, the Latin Americans, and the Africans as they did with Canadians. Much of Malcolm X's rhetoric was designed for shock value.

In articulating an heroic journey Malcolm X's rhetoric also weaves a narrative discussing impending victories for African Americans. In "The Ballot or the Bullet" Malcolm X attempts to empower African Americans by pointing to victories which can be won if African Americans are allowed to use their political power. By pointing to the political power of African Americans, Malcolm X rhetorically enables African Americans to achieve political victories:

These 22 million victims are waking up. Their eyes are coming open. They're beginning to see what they used to

only look at. They're becoming politically mature. They are realizing that there are new political trends from coast to coast. As they see these new political trends, it's possible for them to see that every time there's an election the races are so close that they have to have a recount. They had to recount in Massachusetts to see who was going to be governor, it was so close. It was the same way in Rhode Island, in Minnesota, and in many other parts of the country. And the same with Kennedy and Nixon when they ran for president. It was so close they had to count all over again. Well, what does this mean? It means that when white people are evenly divided, and black people have a bloc of votes of their own, it is left up to them to determine who's going to sit in the White House and who's going to be in the dog house.

Despite his call for separation, Malcolm X included approaches for mainstream moderation. His journey included old fashioned integrationist politics along the way. In placing African Americans in an environment with full voting rights, Malcolm X echoed mainstream African-American politicians: "If the black man in these Southern states had his full voting rights, the key Dixiecrats in Washington, D.C., which means the key Democrats in Washington, D.C., would lose their seats."

The theme that unifies his integration and segregationist appeals is power. Individually African Americans are powerless, but as a group they are powerful. The ambivalence of his rhetoric makes it difficult to judge whether his appeals for separation were genuine or merely threats, strategies to gain attention and local advantage. He was, after all, a flamboyant performer. He was also a pragmatist: "I find you can get a whole lot of small people and whip the hell out of a whole lot of big people." Later

in the speech Malcolm X continues to discuss power through unification when he discusses the combined wealth of African Americans. He also attributes America's riches to the efforts of African Americans:

Our weekly salary individually amounts to hardly anything. But if you take the salary of everyone in here collectively it'll fill up a whole lot of baskets. It's a lot of wealth. If you can collect the wages of just these people right here for a year, you'll be rich-
-richer than rich.

Malcolm X's rhetoric often tries to forecast impending victories for African Americans with the threat of violence:

Black people are fed up with the dillydallying, pussyfooting, compromising approach that we've been using toward getting our freedom. We want freedom now, but we're not going to get it singing 'We Shall Overcome.' We've got to fight until we overcome.

He also attempts to gain attention and create controversy by threatening to take the American government before the United Nations:

Uncle Sam should be taken to court and made to tell why the black man is not free in a so-called free society. Uncle Sam should be taken into the United Nations and charged with violating the U. N. charter of human rights.

In concluding his speech Malcolm X empowers African Americans and forecasts ultimate victory through a threat of violence:

So you have a people today who not only know what they want, but also know what they are supposed to have. And they themselves are creating another generation that is coming up that not only will know what it wants and know what it should have, but also will be ready and willing to do whatever is necessary to see that what they should have materializes immediately.

In the "Harlem 'Hate Gang' Scare," delivered May 29, 1964, Malcolm X again points toward victory by using the threat of violence: "You will find that there is a growing tendency among our people to do whatever is necessary to bring this to a halt." In concluding the "Harlem 'Hate Gang' Scare," Malcolm X returns to the popular theme of achieving victory through a violent threat:

Anytime you have a government that will allow the sheriff, not only one sheriff but some sheriffs and their deputies, to kill in cold blood men who are doing nothing other than trying to ascertain the rights for people who have been denied their rights, and these workers are murdered, and the F. B. I. comes up with all of that pretty-sounding language, like they're going to arrest them and then you do nothing but turn them loose--why, then it's time for you and me to let them know that if the federal government can't deal with the Klan, then you and I can deal with the Klan.

He goes on to say:

So let's put a reward on the head of that sheriff, a reward, a dollar, for whoever gets to him first. I know what they're going to do--if something happens, they're going to blame me for it. I'll take the blame.

By offering to take the blame for any consequences of a violent reaction by African Americans, Malcolm X's narrative portrays him as the leader of a revolution which will ultimately bring victory. He also cast himself as the hero facing a fierce enemy. He is eager to offer himself into battle against the racist white power structure of the South.

In "With Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer" delivered December 20, 1964, Malcolm X again empowered African Americans by creating a victory which would occur through the use of violence. He states that Africans have revolted against European colonial

powers because the African people are angry. He then urges African Americans to adopt the same kind of anger:

When you and I develop that type of anger and speak in that voice, then we'll get some kind of respect and recognition, and some changes from these people who have been promising us falsely already for too long.

He again refers to the need to react violently to white oppressors when referring to the deaths of three civil-rights workers in Mississippi:

I, for one, will make the first contribution to any fund that's raised for the purpose of evening the score. Whenever someone commits murder, what do you do? You put out a 'reward wanted dead or alive' for the murderer. Yes, learn how to do it. We've had three people murdered. No reward has been put on the head of the murderer. Don't just put a reward--put 'dead or alive, dead or alive.' And let the Klan know that we can do it tit for tat, tit for tat. What's good for the goose is good for the gander.

Violent threats such as these eventually work to help African Americans achieve more moderate gains; by appearing with Fannie Lou Hamer, a respected civil rights leader, Malcolm X's threats are contrasted with a more reasonable moderate position. The power of Malcolm X's violent threats also comes from the time period in which they were made. During the 1960s rioting and other irrational behaviors were rewarded.

He concludes his speech by reiterating the threat of violence:

We have brothers who can do that, and who will do that, and who are ready to do that. And I say that if the government of the United States cannot bring to justice people who murder Negroes, or people who murder those who are at the forefront fighting in behalf of Negroes, then it's time for you and me to retire quietly to our

closets and devise means and methods of seeing that justice is executed against murderers where justice has not been forthcoming in the past.

In "Prospects For Freedom in 1965," Malcolm X again threatens violence in retaliation for the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi:

I say if we get involved in the civil rights movement and go to Mississippi, or anyplace else to help our people get registered to vote, we intend to go prepared. We don't intend to break the law, but when you're trying to register to vote you're upholding the law. It's the one who tries to prevent you from registering to vote who's breaking the law, and you've got a right to protect yourself by any means necessary. And if the government doesn't want civil rights groups going equipped, the government should do its job.

Malcolm X is facing the hero's test. He is confronting the white devil. In threatening violence, Malcolm X is advocating standing up for human rights. His journey narrative creates a leader who through advocating self-defense brings pride to his audience.

Having illustrated that Malcolm X's journey narrative allows African Americans to achieve victories by aligning them with a worldwide majority achieving victories for freedom and independence and by using the threat of violence to instill African Americans with a sense of equality and pride, I will now show how Malcolm X's narrative portrays him as a suffering hero. In portraying himself as a suffering hero, Malcolm X often speaks of the suffering endured by all African Americans.

Suffering and Sacrifice

In "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm X bluntly refers to the suffering encountered by African Americans when he says, "You catch hell because you are black." He also reminds his audience that African Americans are "second class citizens" and nothing more than "ex-slaves." He refers to a history of suffering by African Americans when he says:

You didn't come here on the 'Mayflower.' You came here on a slave ship. In chains, like a horse, or a cow, or a chicken. And you were brought here by the people who came here on the 'Mayflower,' you were brought here by the so-called Pilgrims, or Founding Fathers. They were the ones who brought you here.

He continues to discuss suffering when he refers to African Americans being murdered by white racists. He also compares the African-American situation to being in prison. He goes on to compare the present situation with the days of slavery. He speaks of house slaves and field slaves, saying that house slaves were not noble because they worked inside and did not resist the slave master. However, although field slaves were beaten and lived in a shack, they were noble because they resisted the slave masters.

Malcolm X says other African-American leaders are working to oppress African Americans when he compares them to house slaves in the Old South:

Just as the slave master of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slave master today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, twentieth-century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, to keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent.

Here Malcolm X asserts that African Americans who practice nonviolence and peaceful demonstrations also contribute to white oppression. He continues to assert that nonviolent resistance is damaging the cause of African-American freedom when he says, "To keep you from fighting back, he gets these old religious Uncle Toms to teach you and me, just like novocaine, to suffer peacefully. Don't stop suffering--just suffer peacefully."

Malcolm X again discusses suffering in "The Ballot or the Bullet." He again refers to African Americans catching hell because of skin color. He goes on to say, "All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man." Suffering by African Americans is also illustrated when Malcolm X discusses how he feels about his place in America. "I don't even consider myself an American." He also mentions slavery as an example of African-American suffering. African Americans had worked hard in America but had received none of the benefits of their hard work: "Our mothers and fathers invested sweat and blood. Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return--I mean without a dime in return."

He continues to discuss the place of African Americans in America when he says:

No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of

the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver--no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of the American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.

In discussing this American nightmare, Malcolm X refers to African Americans being lynched and not being allowed to vote. He points out that African Americans are robbed of political power in the North as well as the South:

In the North, they do it a different way. They have a system that's known as gerrymandering, whatever that means. It means when Negroes become too heavily concentrated in a certain area, and begin to gain too much political power, the white man comes along and changes the district lines.

He continues to discuss African-American suffering when he criticizes the government, "This government has failed the Negro. This so-called democracy has failed the Negro."

Malcolm X discusses the notion of sacrifice when he says, "Any time you know you're within the law, within your legal rights, within your moral rights, in accord with justice, then die for what you believe in." He goes on to emphasize the importance of sacrifice by telling his audience, "You've got to be ready to die if you force yourself on the white man, because he'll get just as violent as those crackers in Mississippi, right here in Cleveland."

Suffering is also discussed in "The Black Revolution." Again Malcolm X discusses the American political system, which oppresses African Americans. He compares the situation

of African Americans to colonized peoples, a popular analogy within his rhetoric:

America is a colonial power. She has colonized 22 million Afro-Americans by depriving us of first-class citizenship, by depriving us of civil rights, actually by depriving us of human rights. She has not only deprived us of the right to be a citizen, she has deprived us of the right to be human beings, the right to be recognized and respected as men and women. In this country the black man can be fifty years old, and he is still a boy.

He goes on to discuss the American political system, which has oppressed African Americans, when he asserts that no legislation passed has led to freedom and equality for African Americans:

If the Emancipation Proclamation, issued by that great shining liberal called Lincoln, had freed him, he wouldn't be singing 'We Shall Overcome' today. If the amendments to the Constitution had solved his problem, he wouldn't still be here today. And if the Supreme Court desegregation of 1954 was genuinely and sincerely designed to solve his problem, his problem wouldn't be with us today.

Malcolm X again mentions the suffering of African Americans in "The Harlem 'Hate Gang' Scare." He begins the speech as he began many others by referring to African Americans "catching hell." He also discusses police brutality and compares the African-American situation to living in a police state: "A black man in America lives in a police state. He doesn't live in any democracy. He lives in a police state. That's what it is. That's what Harlem is." He continues this analogy when he says:

Any occupied territory is a police state, and this is what Harlem is. Harlem is a police state. The police in Harlem, their presence is like occupation forces,

like an occupying army. They're not in Harlem to protect us. They're not in Harlem to look out for our welfare. They're in Harlem to protect the interests of the businessmen who don't even live there.

He concludes the speech by referring to the oppressive system in America which causes suffering for African Americans:

The system in this country cannot produce freedom for an Afro-American. It is impossible for this system, this economic system, this political system, this social system, this system period. It's impossible for this system, as it stands, to produce freedom right now for the black man in this country.

Malcolm X points to another cause of African-American suffering in his speech "At The Audubon." He asserts that the press has misrepresented him and has contributed to the oppression of African Americans, "Anytime black people in this country are not able to be controlled by the man, the press immediately begins to label those black people as irresponsible or as extremists."

In "With Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer," Malcolm X again discusses the suffering African Americans have endured because they have been deprived of the right to vote. He says that Southern congressmen have worked to oppress African Americans, and these congressmen have only been elected because of the denial of voting rights to Southern African Americans:

If we had the ballot in that area, those racists would not be in Washington, D.C. There'd be some black faces there. There'd be some brown and some yellow and some red faces there. There'd be some faces other than those cracker faces that are there right now.

In addition to discussing suffering in this speech, Malcolm X also tells his audience they must be willing to sacrifice to obtain equality:

We will never get it until we let the world know that as other human beings have laid down their lives for freedom--and also taken life for freedom--that you and I are ready and willing and equipped to and qualified to do the same thing.

In the final speech to be analyzed, "Prospects for Freedom in 1965," Malcolm X again speaks of the suffering African Americans have endured and the sacrifices they have made. African Americans have been murdered in the struggle for freedom and equality. He illustrates this by saying, "Right after they passed the civil-rights bill, they murdered a Negro in Georgia and did nothing about it; murdered two whites and a Negro in Mississippi and did nothing about it." He goes on to discuss the murders in Mississippi:

It was in 1964 that the two white civil-rights workers, working with the black civil-rights worker were murdered. They were trying to show our people in Mississippi how to become registered voters. That was their crime. That was the reason for which they were murdered.

A large portion of this speech is dedicated to discussing the suffering of African Americans up to and during 1964. Malcolm X continues to discuss suffering and points out that suffering also exists in the North when he says:

These bad housing conditions that continue to exist up there keep our people victims of health problems--high infant and adult mortality rates, higher in Harlem than any other part of the city. They promised us jobs and gave us welfare checks instead. We're still jobless,

still unemployed; the welfare is taking care of us, making us beggars, robbing us of our dignity, of our manhood.

By discussing suffering and sacrifice Malcolm X rhetorically takes his African-American audience on the hero's journey. However, his journey is largely futile. In King's rhetorical journey suffering is redemptive. Suffering is part of the journey to the promised land. In Malcolm X's rhetorical journey the suffering is simply suffering. It does not have a redemptive quality.

Malcolm X's rhetoric is filled with references to suffering and sacrifice. The next section will examine Malcolm X's vision of the world. He essentially articulates a tribal vision of African-American pride while excluding whites from this vision. This section seeks to examine Malcolm X's rhetorical vision.

Vision

It is important to note that Malcolm X's vision is vastly different from King's vision. King articulated a global vision, which took everyone regardless of race to the promised land. Malcolm X's vision is one of equality for African Americans. It hopes to bring African Americans the same opportunity as whites. While Malcolm X's vision encompasses all of the dark peoples of the world, his vision never seeks to include the white population as a whole. Malcolm X's vision is nothing more than an African-American vision because his vision does not include all of humanity.

I have already discussed Malcolm X's narrative aligning African Americans with other dark peoples of the world. I will now discuss the relationship between African Americans and whites in his vision.

In "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm X recounts the fact that whites had brought African Americans to America on slave ships. He goes on to refer explicitly to whites as enemies of African Americans:

We have a common enemy. We have this in common; we have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator. But once we realize that we have a common enemy, then we unite--on the basis of what we have in common. And what we have foremost in common is that enemy--the white man. He's an enemy to all of us.

Whites are also portrayed as the enemy of dark peoples throughout the world. "The same man that was colonizing our people in Kenya was colonizing our people in the Congo. The same one in the Congo was colonizing our people in South Africa, and in Southern Rhodesia, and in Burma, and in India, and Afghanistan, and in Pakistan." He went on to say, "All over the world where the dark man was being oppressed, he was being oppressed by the white man. Where the dark man was being exploited, he was being exploited by the white man."

Malcolm X then returns to portraying the white man as an enemy of African Americans:

When you and I here in Detroit and in Michigan and in America who have been awakened today look around us, we too realize here in America we all have a common enemy, whether he's in Georgia or Michigan, whether he's in California or New York. He's the same man--blue eyes and blond hair and pale skin--the same man.

He goes on to discuss the abuse African Americans have suffered at the hands of whites because white society has conditioned African Americans to suffer peacefully and not to fight back. In discussing this peaceful suffering, he compares whites to wolves and African Americans to sheep.

In "The Ballot or the Bullet," Malcolm X again excludes whites from his vision by portraying them as evil and oppressive:

We're all in the same boat, we all are going to catch the same hell from the same man. He just happens to be a white man. All of us have suffered here, in this country, political oppression at the hands of the white man, economic exploitation at the hands of the white man, and social degradation at the hands of the white man.

The ethnocentric scope of Malcolm X's vision is illustrated when he discusses his relationship with America, "I don't even consider myself an American." This illustrates that America as a nation is excluded from Malcolm X's vision. He later reiterates this point by saying, "No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are victims of Americanism." Malcolm X does not see "any American dream." He sees "an American nightmare." Once again it is easy to see the theatrical nature of Malcolm X's discourse. He is trying to gain attention by attacking America's core values. He is only the leader of a small powerless fringe group, but drastic and bold statements--no matter how ridiculous--kept him at the center of national attention.

He also portrays whites as enemies by discussing lynchings performed by whites. He also points out that the white man has deprived the African American of his voting rights. He attacks whites for gerrymandering voting districts and claims such gerrymandering politically disempowers African Americans. In defending his attack of whites he says:

You may say, 'Why do you keep saying white man?' Because it's the white man who does it. I haven't seen any Negro changing any lines. They don't let him get near the line. It's the white man who does this. And usually, it's the white man who grins at you the most, and pats you on the back, and is supposed to be your friend. He may be friendly, but he's not your friend.

He refers to white liberals who have failed African Americans. He later returns to isolating white America from his vision in further discussing the relationship of African Americans to America. He tells the audience they are Africans in America, "That's what we are--Africans who are in America. You're nothing but Africans, nothing but Africans." In excluding whites from his vision Malcolm X bluntly states, "I don't believe in any kind of integration."

In "The Black Revolution," Malcolm X refers to the racial intolerance of the white West and of white America. Malcolm X also illustrates his claim that his vision only includes the dark peoples of the world when he speaks of "a giant race war." Malcolm X continues to exclude all whites from his vision:

I grew up with white people. I was integrated before they even invented the word, and I have never met white

people yet who--if you are around them long enough--won't refer to you as a 'boy' or a 'gal,' no matter how old you are or what school you came out of, no matter what your intellectual or professional level is. In this society we remain 'boys.'

He again refers to the fact that he does not think of himself as an American, thus excluding Americans from his vision. Malcolm X continues to exclude whites from his vision when he criticizes those who attempt to join the African-American struggle:

So today those whites who profess to be liberals--and as far as I'm concerned it's just lip-profession--you understand why our people don't have civil rights. You're white. You can go hang out with another white liberal and see how hypocritical they are. A lot of you sitting right here know that you've seen whites up in a Negro's face with flowery words, and as soon as that Negro walks away you listen to how your white friend talks. We have black people who can pass as white. We know how you talk.

He continues to criticize white America when he asserts that America is run by a "cracker government," "You can see that we have nothing but a cracker government in Washington, D.C. And their head is a cracker president. I said a cracker president. Texas is just as much a cracker state as Mississippi." By criticizing Lyndon Johnson and his administration, Malcolm X continues to articulate a vision which portrays whites as the enemy. In rhetorically confronting this white enemy, Malcolm X is able rhetorically to continue his heroic journey with the whites serving as his enemy and providing tests along the way.

Malcolm X continues to enrage and amuse both whites and African Americans in "At the Audubon," "I'm not blanketly

condemning all whites. All of them don't oppress. All of them aren't in a position to. But most of them are, and most of them do." Although Malcolm X claims he is not condemning all whites, the overall tone of his rhetoric serves to exclude whites from his vision. He continues to criticize whites by referring to hardships African Americans have suffered at the hands of "the man." He then expands on the hardships caused by this "man," "I'm talking about the man that lynches, the man that segregates, the man that won't let you and me have quality education facilities here in Harlem." He concludes the speech again indicting main stream white America when he implies that the Ku Klux Klan has infiltrated the American government. In "With Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer," Malcolm X continues to alienate whites by constantly referring to them as "crackers." He also continually mentions the oppressive nature of the "cracker" government and the "crackers" running the government. By making such violent threats Malcolm X not only keeps himself at the center of media attention, but portrays himself as the heroic leader for a violent, uncompromising fringe group of African Americans. For this group Malcolm X's ethos is enhanced every time he engages in such insulting rhetoric.

Careful examination of the narrative emerging in Malcolm X's rhetoric illustrates that his vision involves securing basic human rights for African Americans. His vision seeks to exclude whites and is an African-American vision.

Throughout his speeches he remains primarily a spokesman for the dark peoples of the world. There is no room for whites in his vision. The ethnocentric scope of Malcolm X's vision creates a world with no room for discourse between African Americans and whites. There can be no civic discourse between the races. Malcolm X's vision is simply impractical. The various races in America cannot exist as separate entities. Thus, it is obvious much of the vision articulated was articulated purely for theatrics and attention. The fact that Malcolm X was entertaining, theatrical, and powerless accounts for his being able to articulate such an absurd vision. The United States government would never allow someone with any real political power to advocate the overthrow of the American political system.

Malcolm X's vision is reinforced through his metaphors. The clusters are perhaps more literary and urban than Martin Luther King's images. While King's metaphors are drawn from a changeless rural world, Malcolm X's metaphors are those of change, conflict, and dynamism. They lack poetic grace, but they bear the ring of the alienated revolutionary.

Analysis of Malcolm X's speeches reveals seven clusters of vehicles appearing throughout his speeches. These seven clusters involve progress metaphors, war metaphors, slavery metaphors, explosion metaphors, crime metaphors, colony metaphors, and communication metaphors.

Progress Metaphors

First, an all encompassing journey metaphor emerging in Malcolm X's discourse is most notably represented by the PROGRESS cluster comprising such terms as "advance," "gains," "strides," "forward," "march," and "broaden." Malcolm X's rhetoric creates a journey narrative. In this narrative he engages African Americans by discussing the progress of dark peoples around the world. Progress metaphors are, of course, important to this narrative. Malcolm X's speech, "Prospects for Freedom in 1965," uses progress metaphors. By using progress metaphors, Malcolm X invites African Americans to see the progress of dark peoples worldwide as a harbinger of African-American progress. However, he also contrasts the worldwide progress with a lack of progress in America. He speaks of "open doors," which represent a means of achieving progress. He points out, "In 1964, oppressed people all over the world, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, and in the Caribbean made some progress." He also speaks of "advances" made by oppressed people throughout the world during 1964. These advances were "tangible gains."

He then moves on to compare these gains to the progress made by African Americans, "When you compare our strides in 1964 with strides that have been made forward by people elsewhere all over the world, only then can you appreciate the great double-cross experienced by black people here in America in 1964." African Americans had not achieved

progress, but the white power structure had created "the illusion of progress." Some African Americans had been part of the illusion. When Malcolm X speaks of marching, his tone is negative. Marches represent Martin Luther King and nonviolence. Malcolm X articulates a belief that this is not an effective way to achieve progress. In doing this Malcolm X is attempting to explain away what most African Americans thought was progress. King had brought African-Americans progress. Malcolm X was desperately trying to show that he had a constituency something to offer. He faced a difficult task because African-Americans were not a colonized people. While they were oppressed and discriminated against, they were not colonized. Malcolm X's comparison easily comes unraveled when the rhetorical scholar notes the faulty comparison he is making.

He continues to articulate the belief that African Americans are not making significant progress when he discusses the possibility of an African-American cabinet member:

They're going to take one of their boys, black boys, and put him in the cabinet, so he can walk around Washington with a cigar--fire on one end fool on the other. And because his immediate personal problem will have been solved, he will be the one to tell our people, 'Look how much progress we're making: I'm in Washington, D.C. I can have tea in the White House.'

Having tea in the White House is symbolic of being part of white society. Malcolm X does not view this as progress.

He continues to discuss the lack of progress when he says, "Though at the beginning of '64 we were told that our political rights would be broadened, it was in 1964 that the two white civil-rights workers, working with the black civil-rights worker, were murdered." He concludes this speech by pointing out that while the dark peoples of the world have made progress, African Americans have had "the door closed in their face." Malcolm X has a difficult time using progress metaphors successfully. King's narrative is able to point to actual progress. Malcolm X's narrative attempts to portray this actual progress as illusory progress while offering only illusory plans of action to secure actual progress.

War Metaphors

The second cluster featuring WAR metaphors contains several vehicles including "revolution," "enemy," "nation," "weapon," "tactic," and "allies." Malcolm X's rhetorical journey is not peaceful. It is a violent journey. The civil-rights movement is characterized as a violent revolution for freedom and independence. However, Malcolm X has no real power. He is in no position to launch an actual war. Thus, his narrative engages his audience in a symbolic rhetorical war. He does not engage in war. He only talks about war. He never mounts a violent assault. Thus, while his rhetoric may generate African-American pride; he is not taken seriously by mainstream political leaders. In characterizing this struggle as war, Malcolm X notes that

African Americans have an enemy in the white man. In "Message to the Grass Roots," he portrays all white men as enemies of dark peoples everywhere. Malcolm X uses the war metaphor as a direct contradiction of King's notion of a nonviolent civil rights movement: "You don't have a turn-the-other-cheek revolution. There's no such thing as a nonviolent revolution." He also refers to his desire to establish an African-American nation and points out that new nations are usually established through violent revolution. However, he is speaking only of a metaphorical war, a personal symbolic war, which fits into his mythical heroic journey.

In "The Ballot or the Bullet," Malcolm X uses the metaphor of the bullet to illustrate that he is leading a violent journey toward freedom. The bullet represents the threat of war and violence. He also points out that African Americans do not "intend to turn the other cheek any longer." He also uses the metaphor of developing a new tactic to threaten violence, "as the Negro awakens a little more and sees the vise that he's in, sees the bag that he's in, sees the real game that he's in, then the Negro's going to develop a new tactic." He uses the war metaphor when he says, "We need some new allies." Malcolm X refers to the use of various weapons throughout his discourse: "It'll be Molotov cocktails this month, hand grenades next month, and something else next month." He refers to forming an army: "If it's

necessary to form a black nationalist army, we'll form a black nationalist army."

"The Black Revolution" illustrates the war metaphor in the title. In this speech Malcolm X speaks of the "ingredients of hostility" and "black nationalism," implying that an African-American nation can be established only through violent revolution. He points out "that the black man has ceased to turn the other cheek." He again refers to the use of Molotov cocktails and hand grenades. He bluntly states that African Americans are on a violent journey when he says, "There are 22 million African Americans who are ready to fight for independence right here. When I say fight for independence right here, I don't mean any nonviolent fight, or turn-the-other-cheek fight." Just as the title implies, Malcolm X openly speaks of revolution: "This is a real revolution. Revolution is always based on land. Revolution is never based on begging somebody for an integrated cup of coffee. Revolutions are never fought by turning the other cheek."

In "At the Audubon," Malcolm X again speaks of revolution. He speaks of the need to gain "allies" and form "alliances." He points to a fight between African Americans and whites and refers to whites as enemies. He also speaks of "freedom fighters," "the struggle for freedom," "battlefront," and "the frontlines of battle." He goes on to

say, "In this country, wherever a black man is, there is a battle line."

Slavery Metaphors

Malcolm X's rhetoric also uses metaphors in the SLAVERY cluster, including "Uncle Tom," "plantation," "house Negro," "field Negro," "slave master," and "enslave." In "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm X uses the plantation metaphor to criticize advocates of nonviolent protest: "These Negroes aren't asking for any nation. They're trying to crawl back on the plantation." He also uses the metaphor of the house Negro and the field Negro to illustrate the difference between revolutionary African Americans and African Americans who have been incorporated into the white power structure. He argues that house Negroes lived better than field Negroes, so house Negroes supported the slave master and were not interested in freedom. Field Negroes on the other hand worked hard and were abused. The field Negroes were the masses and were interested in obtaining freedom: "You've got field Negroes in America today. I'm a field Negro. The masses are field Negroes." He also uses the Uncle Tom metaphor to criticize African Americans who have achieved power within white society:

Just as the slave master of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep his field Negroes in check, the same old slave master today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, twentieth-century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, to keep us under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent.

He continues the analogy:

The slave master took Tom and dressed him well, fed him well and even gave him a little education--a little education; gave him a long coat and a top hat and made all the other slaves look up to him. Then he used Tom to control them.

He also used the Uncle Tom metaphor when referring to those participating in the March on Washington as "Toms." Throughout the speech whites are portrayed as slave masters and African Americans are portrayed as slaves, which is illustrated when he says, "They [whites] control you. They contain you. They have kept you on the plantation." These metaphors serve not only to exclude whites from Malcolm X's vision, but they also serve to exclude African Americans working with and benefiting from the white power structure. However, the slavery metaphors are important to the journey myth because the hero, Malcolm X, is attempting to rhetorically free himself and other African Americans from slavery.

Explosion Metaphors

Malcolm X also relies heavily upon metaphors of EXPLOSION. The vehicles used in this cluster include "explosive," "fire," "ignite," "powder keg," "fuse," and "spark." "The Black Revolution" is filled with such metaphors. Malcolm X begins the speech by comparing America's racial situation with a fire and pointing out that he did not start the fire, he is merely alerting people that

it is burning. He also uses explosion metaphors to link African Americans to other dark peoples worldwide:

Nineteen sixty-four itself appears to be one of the most explosive years yet in the history of America on the racial front, on the racial scene. Not only is this racial explosion probably to take place in America, but all of the ingredients for this racial explosion present themselves right here in front of us. America's racial powder keg, in short, can actually fuse or ignite the worldwide powder keg.

He continues to link the African-American struggle to a worldwide struggle:

Any kind of racial explosion that takes place in this country today in 1964, is not a racial explosion that can be confined to the shores of America. It is a racial explosion that can actually fuse or ignite a worldwide powder keg.

Militant African Americans are described as the fuse which will spark this explosion: "But just as the fuse is the smallest part of the smallest piece in the powder keg, it is yet that little fuse that ignites the entire powder keg." Militant African Americans "just happen to be composed of the type of ingredient necessary to fuse or ignite the entire black community. . . the type of ingredient that can easily spark the black community."

He continues to use the "explosion" metaphor by linking the African American struggle to a worldwide struggle:

It should be understood that the racial sparks that are ignited here in America today could easily turn into a flaming fire abroad, which means it could engulf all the people of this earth into a giant race war.

Once again Malcolm X's powerless threats are symbolic and purely metaphorical. He may make his audience feel good

for awhile, but he is not proposing a specific plan or program. Once again he is attempting to grab headlines and attention.

Crime Metaphors

CRIME metaphors allow Malcolm X to portray whites as criminals and African Americans as victims. Among the vehicles found in this cluster are "crooks," "criminal," "victim," "conspiracy," "charge," "murder," and "steal." The use of crime metaphors occurs in "The Black Revolution." Malcolm X speaks of political "crooks" in Washington, D.C., calls the racial situation in America "criminal," and refers to African Americans as "victims." He also refers to "a governmental conspiracy" to deprive African Americans of their rights.

By portraying African Americans as victims and whites as criminals, Malcolm X excludes whites from his vision. A popular theme in many of his speeches, including "The Black Revolution," involves charging America with human rights violations before the United Nations. "Take him (Uncle Sam) to court, and charge him with genocide, the mass murder of millions of black people in this country--political murder, economic murder, social murder, mental murder." Surely this was not a serious attempt to redeem injustice. He was uttering what had become a ritual of radical speeches. Speech and action had become separated on the fringe. One could talk of violence without engaging in it. It had become

a code for general disenchantment or a bid for a national clientage.

In "At the Audubon," Malcolm X uses crime metaphors to attack the white press, saying that the press makes victims look like criminals and criminals look like victims. He also continues to portray whites as criminals and African Americans as victims in "Prospects for Freedom in 1965." In this speech Malcolm X attacks United States' foreign policy calling the United States presence in Vietnam "criminal." He again portrays the actions of the white power structure as criminal: "When you're trying to register to vote you're upholding the law. It's the one who tries to prevent you from registering to vote who's breaking the law." Malcolm X argues American society is condoning illegal acts against African Americans when he says, "An illegal attack, an unjust attack, and an immoral attack can be made against you by anyone." He goes on to point out that the American system is "robbing us of our dignity, of our manhood."

Colony Metaphors

Malcolm X also uses the metaphor of the COLONY. In "The Harlem 'Hate-Gang' Scare," Malcolm X compares the African-American situation to people who have been colonized against their will: "Any occupied territory is a police state, and this is what Harlem is. Harlem is a police state; the police in Harlem, their presence is like occupation forces, like an occupying army." In many other of his speeches, Malcolm X

refers to African Americans as a colonized people. He often asserts that the American system has colonized 22 million African Americans. The metaphor of the colony serves to empower African Americans by linking them to other dark peoples around the world who have been colonized by predominantly white nations.

Communication Metaphors

Finally, Malcolm X draws upon COMMUNICATION metaphors. Vehicles in this category include "speak," "language," "communicate," "singing," "tell," and "said." Malcolm X used communication metaphors to empower African Americans by articulating a threat of violence. He uses a communication metaphor in "With Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer," when he calls for African Americans to learn a new language. Since whites speak a language of violence, African Americans need to learn a new language:

We will never communicate talking one language while he's talking another language. He's talking the language of violence while you and I are running around with a little chicken-picking type of language--and think that he's going to understand. Let's learn his language. If his language is with a shotgun, get a shotgun. Yes, I said if he only understands the language of a rifle, get a rifle. If he only understands the language of a rope, get a rope.

He also uses communication metaphors to criticize the lack of action taken by both whites and some African Americans in the civil-rights struggle. Whites have not opened their mouth to support African Americans in their struggle, and African Americans have been "singing" in

nonviolent protests when they should have been "swinging" their fists. He goes on to say, "I'm not for anybody who tells black people to be nonviolent while nobody is telling white people to be nonviolent." By using communication metaphors Malcolm X's narrative serves to empower African Americans through the threat of violence and a criticism of inaction. In analyzing the effect of Malcolm X's violent metaphors it is important to consider the climate of the 1960s. Reactionary threatening rhetoric had become the norm in many circles. Malcolm X's rhetoric was no different. When he spoke of communication, he was not speaking of dialogue between the races. He was not speaking of communication at all. He was speaking of a symbolic confrontation, a confrontation which would never take place, but the threat of confrontation was nonetheless a favorite theme of many radicals during the decade.

Death

Malcolm X was shot several times at 3:10 p.m. on February 21, 1965, while delivering a speech at an Organization of Afro-American Unity meeting in the Audubon Ballroom in New York. He was later pronounced dead.

This assassination brings to an end the narrative of Malcolm X. His narrative attempted to portray him as a suffering hero with a vision of equality for African Americans.

Legacy

The mythical heroic narrative is indeed a powerful rhetorical device, but Malcolm X's was unsuccessful. While Moses died to allow the Israelites to reach the promised land, America died a symbolic death before it could be purified by the Civil War in Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address," and Martin Luther King's death symbolized the fulfillment of his vision, Malcolm X's ultimate sacrifice, his death, was another futile occurrence in his fragmented and ill-conceived vision for America. America's diverse racial communities still live in somewhat tenuous harmony, and most American leaders officially profess a desire for racial harmony and equality. Malcolm X's journey toward separatism between whites and African Americans seems to have died with him.

This, then, is the legacy of Malcolm X--minister, political activist, and Muslim. He wanted to take African Americans to the promised land. Malcolm X's rhetoric reveals a hero on a quest to achieve equality for African Americans. As a hero he was able to achieve great victories for his people by aligning them with a worldwide majority and instilling them with a sense of racial pride. He and his people knew suffering and sacrifice. Malcolm X's rhetorical narrative and vision along with his assassination secured his place as an American icon of the civil rights movement.

Malcolm X articulated a vision of African-American equality. His journey ended with his assassination in New

York. His legacy is a powerful legacy of African-American pride and separatism. His legacy is one of African-American autonomy. Examining Malcolm X's vision with a keen rhetorical eye illustrates that his is a legacy of a promised land for African Americans, where they could confront whites from a position of equality if not superiority, a land where one's race was of utmost importance, a place where Western power hierarchies were overturned, where black was pure, noble, and good, and white was the ultimate evil. It was also a place where many traditional American ideals would not flourish, and a place where the American dream of racial harmony had little relevance.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

America's national identity is frequently expressed through rite of passage and journey myths. Much of American history can be expressed through journey myths accepted by much of contemporary America. According to these popular myths, the nation began when the Puritans left Europe. As God's new chosen people they embarked on a journey to the promised land. Later, the frontier myth became an indelible part of America's identity. The journey to tame the West continues to evoke a vital part of our national identity. The slaves' flight to the freeground of the North became a central theme of 19th century debate over the definition of America. The immigrants' journey has also been important. According to this myth heroic immigrants arrived penniless and through hard work became rich because of the great opportunities in America. Our wars have also been described as heroic journeys. In the mythic description of America's military might, the purity of America was contrasted with the evils of Europe during both World War I and World War II. Americans returned as soldiers in Europe to bring their former homelands the gift of liberation and democracy. The Cold War has also been described as an heroic journey. According to the mythic reconstruction of the Cold War America's fortitude and sacrifice eventually resulted in the fall of communism.

The identity of our nation has been shaped by America's westward journey to fulfill the idea of manifest destiny. One of the most persistent generalizations concerning American life and character is the notion that our society has been shaped by the pull of a vacant continent drawing us westward through the passes of the Alleghenies, across the Mississippi Valley, over the high plains and mountains of the Far West to the Pacific Coast (Smith, 1950). Geography represented material progress. Thus, journey narratives are not merely important to the American culture. Our core identity stands squarely on the journey narrative.

The African-American community also has its journey myths. Essentially, there have been two divergent journeys emerging in the African-American community--one articulated by Martin Luther King, Jr. and the other articulated by Malcolm X. This study has articulated the structure of each journey. King's journey was universal and stressed assimilation, alliances, acceptance, tolerance, and love. Malcolm X's journey was tribal, and stressed autonomy, pride, and retaliation.

Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X are without a doubt the two most powerful icons in the African-American community. Although popular culture sometimes confuses the message of each man and portrays them as articulating a common vision, a careful examination of the rhetorical narrative left by each man illustrates their visions are

significantly different. Later, I will articulate the differences in each vision and discuss how each man has been remembered. The diverse visions of each man appeal to the aspirations of different audiences.

Martin Luther King's vision is a global Christian vision. While on the surface it may seem contradictory to label a Christian vision global because Christianity is by no means practiced by all peoples of the world, I believe King's Christian vision was global because he expressed the universal and communal rather than institutional and theological properties of his creed. When King spoke of a Christian love and Christian behavior, he was not speaking of the necessity to believe the physical reality of the virgin birth or the crucifixion. When King spoke of Christian love and a Christian lifestyle, he was speaking of patterns of conduct found in most of the world's religions. When King spoke of being Christlike, he was not only concerned with a metaphysical transformation but also with a lifestyle here on earth, a lifestyle articulated by the narrative journey created in his rhetoric, a lifestyle of respect for one's fellow man, a lifestyle of tolerance, and above all a lifestyle of racial harmony. This Social Gospel message had a long history in North America and was familiar to people who had little acquaintance with Southern African-American Christianity.

Malcolm X's vision is an urban secular vision. The rhetoric of Malcolm X is a response to the situation in the African-American ghetto. Malcolm X's rhetoric creates a violent secular journey which was a reaction to the violent existence he had lived. The most important aspect of Malcolm X's rhetorical journey is the environment in which it occurred. In his rhetorical narrative Malcolm X focused on the environment in America. The ghetto and prison environment in which Malcolm X lived were inhuman. Malcolm X wove a rhetorical narrative which served to justify and even condone a violent reaction to such circumstances.

Malcolm X's rhetoric serves to shift the blame for his violent threats away from himself to the environment. Malcolm X's rhetoric portrays him as having no choice but to undertake a violent journey toward equality. Within the violent environment created by society, Malcolm X felt he had no choice but to advocate violent resistance to white oppression. It should be noted that he liked the posture of the near warrior. If King's dream was metaphorical, so was Malcolm X's violence. He rarely engaged in any direct action and his calls to rebel were nebulous, not naming specific targets.

Malcolm X justified his role as a part forced upon him by the environment. His arguments were circumstantially based. Urban African Americans who believed in the ghetto as

planned oppression were quick to accept Malcolm X's message, and they continue to accept this message today.

Having examined the contrasting nature of the visions and legacies of King and Malcolm X, I will now examine how modern interpretations of their lives affect the legacy of each man. King is remembered as a hero to both African Americans and whites. King's rhetorical narrative is still accepted as the proper path for race relations by a majority of Americans, even one time racists. Writing in Christianity Today, Philip Yancy (1990) admits he was once a racist who has now come to understand King's message:

Because he stayed faithful, in the short view, by offering his body as a target but never as a weapon, and in the long view, by holding before us his dream, a dream of a new kingdom of peace and justice and love, he became a prophet for me, the most unlikely of followers.

King is also remembered as a leader who strove to unite people of all races. In a speech delivered September 19, 1988, by former Secretary of State George Schultz, King is remembered for his rhetorical vision of bringing all races together in a world of peace and harmony. Schultz said, "He (King) wanted people of good will to sit down together and resolve their differences." Schultz went on to say, "Dr. King believed in an interdependent world and the responsibility of all men for each other." King's vision is not only universally applauded, but most Americans articulate a belief that it can be realized. This was illustrated in Schultz's speech when he said, "Martin Luther King, Jr. led

us to see that a racially divided society can be healed rather than dismembered."

Many Americans also believe Americans, particularly African Americans, are obligated to struggle to see that King's vision becomes reality. Writing in the February/March 1988 issue of Mother Jones Roger Wilkins writes:

Martin didn't struggle to lift the burden of pinched and painful lives from the people of Montgomery, who had to ride in the back of the bus, just so their children could drive their BMW's at a very fast rate past the neighborhoods most in need.

King has also left behind the legacy of a loyal American advocating change within the framework of the American dream. Speaking at the Martin Luther King Memorial Banquet at the University of North Carolina on January 17, 1986, Eric Lincoln, Professor of Religion and Culture at Duke University, said, "In Martin Luther King America gained a new founding father, and to honor him with a special day on the calendar is an appropriate gesture of national appreciation and pride." King was an example of a good American. Lincoln went on to say, "He came teaching peace, preaching forgiveness, and showing by precept his own full commitment to all he asked America to be." He also called King, "a man for America in her time of trial, and in her hour of need."

King is not only remembered for having a vision of peace and prosperity for America, but contemporary interpretations of King's life also applaud his vision for global harmony. Lincoln (1986) said, "Because of King, we can speak to the

world about terrorism in Libya, or barbarism in South Africa, or militarism in Russia, and the world will give us a hearing."

As a former secretary of state, George Schultz found King useful as a global symbol for American aspirations. Schultz (1988) remembered King as a world leader, "He was able to help guide a world full of fear, doubt, and violence toward greater compassion and understanding." Schultz emphasized King's global vision when he said, "As an American, I am very proud that Martin Luther King, Jr. has come to symbolize mankind's struggle for peace and freedom." Schultz articulated King's vision when he said, "Effective diplomacy today needs the inspiration of a moral vision--the vision of a world where prosperity is commonplace, conflict an aberration, and democracy and human dignity a way of life." Schultz held up King's vision as a model for emulation for the world community when he said, "He showed the world that conflict can be resolved through reason and that significant change can come without bloodshed." Schultz went on to say:

Wherever the struggle for democracy and human rights is waged today the memory of Martin Luther King, Jr. is revered, for he taught us that power does not come from the barrel of a gun but from firm adherence to moral principles.

Schultz (1988) continued to offer King as an example to the world when he said, "His abiding patience, understanding, and nonviolence in confronting the tyranny of racism and

prejudice showed the world the profound difference one person can make." Schultz also held up the entire American civil rights movement to be emulated when he said, "He (King) led a cause whose example now illuminates struggles for racial injustice in the most downtrodden corners of the Earth."

What then is the overall legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr. and his nonviolent civil rights movement? I believe it is a legacy very similar to the one left by the Civil War in which separation and struggle led to a higher unity. Americans have created a vision of the Civil War as a necessary evil, which has brought about great prosperity. I believe a similar myth exists about the civil rights movement, a myth which has left King a dead savior, a savior who was sacrificed so that America could endure. Lincoln (1986) articulated this view when he said of the civil rights movement, "It was a time when only a man like Martin Luther King could save America." He also contended King's life had improved America: "Among the reasons for the promise of America is a man named Martin Luther King."

While King's message has been almost universally applauded and accepted by Americans, Malcolm X's message has not received the same universal support and praise. Many urban African Americans and an increasing number of upper class suburban African Americans identify with Malcolm X, but he is far from achieving the national hero status achieved by King. King represents integration, racial harmony, and the

American dream. King's legacy is one of accomplishment. Malcolm X represents segregation, racial division, and the unfulfilled promise of the American dream. Malcolm X's legacy is one of accomplishments yet to be achieved.

Malcolm X's message has come to represent a symbol of what is left to be accomplished for African Americans. However, time has softened his message. Popular culture has softened his violent threats, apparently relying on a transformation narrative recounted in his autobiography after he returned from a trip to Mecca. He returned from Mecca preaching brotherhood and a hostility to bias in any form according to Lewis Lord, Jeannye Thornton, and Alejandro Bodipo-Memba in a November 23, 1992, article in U. S. News and World Report. African-American activist James Farmer reported that after Malcolm X returned from Mecca he vowed to spend the rest of his life repairing the damage done by his narrowmindedness. Whether this change of heart was a brief interlude or an enduring change will never be known because of his early death.

However, this view of Malcolm X seems inconsistent with his public speeches after his return as well as his overall message throughout his life. Though his views toward whites may have softened, his rhetoric indicates that he never lost his belief in advocating self-defense and violence. Perhaps a more realistic interpretation of his views has been offered in a November 16, 1992, Newsweek article by Mark Whitaker,

Vern E. Smith, Carolyn Friday, Farai Dhideya, Marc Peyser, Jeanne Gordon, and Vicki Quade who wrote that in the last year of his life Malcolm X expressed a willingness to cooperate with sympathetic whites as allies. Marshall Frady writing in The New Yorker on October 12, 1992, asserted that Malcolm X returned from Mecca ready to accept the idea that well-intentioned white people and African Americans could work together to end oppression.

I do not believe that Malcolm X is attractive to African Americans in the 1990s because he represents brotherly love among the races. I believe Malcolm X has become a symbol of African-American pride. He emerged advocating African-American pride in the civil rights movement, and he has reemerged as a symbol of African-American pride in the 1990s. During the civil rights movement African Americans found pride in the message of Malcolm X, who was unafraid of the white man. Modern audiences are again finding pride in the message of Malcolm X.

In a Newsweek article appearing November 16, 1992, Whitaker et al. discussed Malcolm X's legacy. When white men wanted to be John Wayne or Steve McQueen, Malcolm X offered an image of an African-American gunslinger to his people, a man who was noble and supportive of good but who was fearless and ruthless toward his enemies. His words were always designed to instill racial pride in his audience. African Americans needed to develop pride in themselves and work to

better their condition. Malcolm X's oratory played a large part in the dawning of African-American pride. Malcolm X was admired because he was not afraid to stand up and talk back to white society. He was able to talk defiantly to white society because he did not want to be a part of white society. He always concentrated on instilling pride in African Americans, realizing the importance of instilling self-esteem long before it became a trendy educational buzzword.

For young urban African Americans, Malcolm X is one of the few historical figures whose life stories have any resonance. Malcolm X represents a proud African American during the civil rights movement and his legacy appeals to a proud African American today. He has always preached self-help and self-reliance and that is the message of his legacy.

The legacy of Malcolm X is one of pride and the legitimacy, perhaps even the necessity of violence. In an article in the October 12, 1992, issue of the New Yorker, Frady asserted that the recent riots in Los Angeles were in the spirit of Malcolm X. He, too, pointed to Malcolm X's violent threats as a way of instilling pride in African Americans. Malcolm X helped African Americans remove their fear of whites. His opposition to integration also served to empower African Americans because Malcolm X asserted that African Americans were too pure and noble to associate with whites. He simply turned the tables on the white oppressors

speaking about whites the same way white racists spoke about African Americans. In overturning the power hierarchy, Malcolm X created a new African-American consciousness of pride. But this study suggests an alternative vision, that of pseudorevolutionary who can threaten because he knows no one takes him seriously. He can be seen as a mouthy tough guy who never has a specific challenge or agenda, but gains attention through tough talk. Because he has no position of power or responsibility he can indulge in irresponsible talk.

While King's legacy is one of a loyal American, Malcolm X left behind a predominantly anti-American legacy. He did not consider himself an American but an African living in America. Malcolm X found nothing in America worth saving (Lord et al., 1992). He also did not desire to be a part of white America. In 1961 he met secretly with Ku Klux Klan leaders to solicit their help in establishing an African-American nation within the borders of the United States. As a member of the Nation of Islam he had been nothing short of isolated from the rest of America. The taking of names other than Little was a rejection of his American heritage (Frady, 1992). In this sense Malcolm X anticipates the new pluralism. He hoped for a nation of tribes and ethnic enclaves.

While both Malcolm X and Martin Luther King have left behind powerful legacies, King's legacy seems to be more accepted by African-American leaders although they seem

sobered by growing divisions of postmodern America. Minister Louis Farrakhan and a few other Black Muslims and militant African Americans espouse and praise the legacy of Malcolm X, but most African-American leaders articulate King's vision. The primary crusader continuing this legacy is Jesse Jackson, perhaps the most visible African-American leader. Jackson seems to clearly articulate King's moral vision. Jackson urges a moral solution to the problems in America. Like King, Jackson articulates a vision which encompasses all races and focuses on bringing equality to the underprivileged. In his address to the 1988 Democratic Convention in Atlanta on July 20, 1988, Jackson articulated a vision providing money for housing, education, health care, unemployment relief, and farm subsidies. Jackson also portrayed himself as a hero capable of bringing relief to the suffering masses. He portrayed his vision as an heroic quest and a moral responsibility, and he portrayed himself as the moral leader capable of instituting change:

Leadership must meet the moral challenge of its day. What's the moral challenge of our day? We have public accommodations. We have the right to vote. We have open housing. What's the fundamental challenge of our day? It is to end economic violence.

By articulating an heroic quest to improve America for all races and portraying himself as the moral leader to implement change, Jackson's speech took on the overall vision of Martin Luther King, Jr. He articulated the global nature of King's vision when he emphasized the importance of world

peace pointing to improving relations with the former Soviet Union as an excellent opportunity for peace:

Last year, 200,000 Americans visited the Soviet Union. There's a chance for joint ventures into space, not Star Wars and war arms escalation, but a space defense initiative. Let's build space together, and demilitarize the heavens. There's a way out.

He urged America to accept his global vision for peace. In continuing to articulate King's vision he told America they must never stop dreaming. He articulated his belief that his global moral dream must be shared by all levels of society:

Dream of teachers who teach for life and not for a living. Dream of doctors concerned more about public health than private wealth. Dream of lawyers more concerned about justice than a judgeship. Dream of preachers who are concerned more about prophecy than profiteering. Dream on the high road of sound values.

The moral obligation to dream urged by Jackson was followed by a portrayal of himself as the leader to implement the dream. Jackson portrayed himself as such an heroic leader by illustrating that he understood the plight of the suffering in America:

Those of you who are watching this broadcast tonight in the projects, on the corners, I understand. Call you outcast, low down, you can't make it, you're nothing, you're from nobody, subclass, underclass--when you see Jesse Jackson, when my name goes in nomination, your name goes in nomination.

John Jacob, President of the National Urban League, also articulates King's vision. In "Racism And Race Relations: To Grow Beyond Our Racial Animositities," Jacob asserted that the Urban League has sought to secure a "pluralistic integrated

society." In "Developing Productive People: Education And Social Issues Critical To Business," Jacob discussed the importance of racial diversity to America's businesses. He also pointed to the African-American economic condition as being important to the overall economy of America:

A company's competitiveness today depends as much on whether black children in the inner city have enough to eat as it does on whether a new product comes to market. For unless those children become productive, educated, skilled members of a competitive workforce, American business won't have people to create new products, produce them or market them.

Jordan very clearly articulated King's vision when he discussed the need for inclusion of all races in American society in "A Marshall Plan For America: A Land Of Diverse People Living And Working Together." He said, "We are challenged to meet the needs of a more diverse society by developing an appreciation for other cultures and by building bridges that cross racial and ethnic lines." He went on to discuss "America's destiny as a pluralistic, multicultural democracy." He spoke of inter-group cooperation and inter-racial and inter-ethnic coalitions.

In his conclusion he clearly articulated King's vision when he said:

Our America needs to recapture the vision of itself that has inspired people around the world for over two centuries. It is a vision of a diverse people living together in harmony and respect with liberty and justice for all.

He continued to articulate King's vision when he said:

It is a vision that drives the hopes of little black children in Atlanta. . . a vision dear to people in

faraway lands struggling to be free. . .a vision that flourishes in the minds and hearts of people of all races and all cultures.

He very clearly stated that he was articulating King's vision when he said:

We carry on with faith in that vision as articulated by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who dreamed:

'That one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.'

Thirty years after the height of the civil rights movement in America, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X remain the two primary icons of the struggle for equality for African Americans. Both are regarded as heroes. Martin Luther King's birthday is celebrated as a national holiday, and Malcolm X has been immortalized by T-shirts bearing his picture and hats bearing a single X. While much of this popularity was brought on by a motion picture based on his autobiography, Malcolm X was an icon in the African-American community long before the movie was released. One of the reasons for the lasting legacies of these leaders is their ability to weave an heroic narrative. Each speaker's rhetoric creates a story which portrays him as a hero on a quest for equality for his people.

King's rhetoric serves to create a journey toward equality which involves all of humanity, regardless of skin color. King's rhetoric articulates a vision of a world living in racial harmony and advocates brotherly love of everyone regardless of skin color. Malcolm X's rhetoric

articulates a vision which does not include whites. Whites are specifically excluded from his vision. His heroic journey is designed solely to empower dark skinned peoples and to disempower whites.

This study has examined how both King and Malcolm X created a narrative of an heroic journey, and used that journey narrative to articulate distinctive visions for the world community, one a vision of total integration and one a vision of segregation. The narratives serve to create two markedly different views of the world.

Through an heroic narrative the rhetors have related their visions for race relations in America and throughout the world. King has created a vision where all races live together in peace and harmony. Malcolm X has articulated a vision of a world where African Americans enjoy the same benefits and privileges as whites, but the two races remain essentially separate.

King very clearly articulates the view that African Americans are very much a part of America, and his vision is essentially an all encompassing vision including all of America and all of the world. King's goals and messages are consistent with traditional American values.

This, then, is the legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.--minister, political activist, and Christian. He wanted everyone to make it to the promised land. King's rhetoric reveals a hero on a quest to achieve equality for African

Americans. As a hero, he was able to achieve great victories for his people, and these victories were achieved through great sacrifices. King ultimately sacrificed his life both rhetorically and literally. This sacrifice secured his place as an icon of the American civil rights movement.

During his heroic quest King was transformed from a leader with a vision for African-American equality to a leader with a vision of human rights for everyone. His journey ends when he dies having sacrificed his life so that all humanity might reach the promised land of peace and brotherhood. His legacy is as powerful a legacy as that of all great heroes, such as Christ, Moses, and Abraham Lincoln. Christ's vision was eventually taken by the Apostle Paul to Gentiles throughout the Roman Empire. New Testament writers transformed Christ's message of love from a Jewish vision to a global vision. Examining King's vision with a keen rhetorical eye illustrates that his is a legacy not of a vision of a promised land for African Americans but a legacy of a global vision of a promised land for all races, where one's race is no longer an issue.

The vision of Malcolm X was quite different from the vision of King. Malcolm X viewed African Americans not as Americans but rather as members of an American colony. Malcolm X's rhetoric clearly articulates this vision. African Americans are not part of America but enemies of America. Malcolm X views African Americans not as Americans

but as a foreign people being subjected to colonial rule at the hands of the American government. His goals and values are consistent with a revolutionary advocating if not the outright overthrow at least significant changes in the government. He did not see an American dream. He saw an American nightmare.

This then is the legacy of Malcolm X--minister, political activist, and Muslim. He wanted to take African Americans to the promised land. Malcolm X's rhetoric reveals a hero on a quest to achieve equality for African Americans. As a hero he was able to achieve victories for his people by aligning them with a worldwide majority and instilling them with a sense of racial pride. He and his people knew suffering and sacrifice. Malcolm X's rhetorical narrative and vision along with his assassination secured his place as an American icon of the civil rights movement.

Malcolm X articulated a vision of African-American equality. His journey ended with his assassination in New York. His legacy is a powerful legacy of African-American pride and separatism. His legacy is one of African-American autonomy. Examining Malcolm X's vision with a keen rhetorical eye illustrates that his is a legacy of a promised land for African Americans, where they could confront whites from a position of equality if not superiority, a land where one's race would be of utmost importance, a place where Western power hierarchies would be overturned, where black

would be pure, noble, and good, and white would be ultimate evil.

The narratives of King and Malcolm X convey a different message regarding the relationship between African Americans and whites. King's rhetoric constructs a narrative where skin color does not affect one's humanity. However, in Malcolm X's narrative, skin color is of the utmost importance. Both narratives empower African Americans. Malcolm X's narrative empowers African Americans at the expense of mainstream America while King's narrative empowers not only African Americans but all of humanity.

This study has not discounted or discredited any previous studies dealing with the rhetoric of King or Malcolm X, it has exposed new dimensions of the rhetorical message of these two powerful African-American leaders. Each leader's rhetoric portrays him as a leader on an heroic journey to bring rewards to his followers.

Summary

This study expands upon the findings of other rhetorical critics regarding King and Malcolm X. By examining the narrative emerging in the discourse of each man, this study offers a unique examination of each African-American leader. While previous rhetorical critics have not ignored narrative when examining the rhetoric of King and Malcolm X, this study is unique because it examines the structuring mythic story as the single most important factor within the discourse of King

and Malcolm X. Employing the insights of Michael McGee, this study also offers a contextual method of rhetorical criticism. In applying this method the rhetorical critic views a particular speech as part of a larger text, a large narrative developing from the career-long discourse of a particular speaker. This study also provides a model for finding the essential voice of a speaker, the message that represents his legacy. While most critics have viewed King and Malcolm X as political activists, this study examines them on a deeper level. Their rhetoric is indeed political in nature, but it also serves to portray each man as a hero whose message is edited into a cultural identity. The political resonance of their discourse is well documented, but this study suggests that much of this power comes from the dramatic narrative through which each speaker invented himself.

Further Study

Although the height of the civil rights movement was the 1960s, the movement left powerful institutional traces on our national life. Further study of the narrative emerging in the African-American community during this time period would be beneficial. Specifically, further study should address what other journey narratives may have emerged or are emerging within the African-American community. Also the effects of the rhetorical legacy left by King and Malcolm X warrant further examination. This further research can

address at least three specific questions. What effects have these legacies had on the rhetorical constraints faced by both minority and nonminority religious and political leaders? What effects have these rhetorical legacies had on rap music, African-American television shows, and movies featuring primarily African-American characters? What effects have these rhetorical legacies had on historical interpretations of the civil rights movement?

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VITA

Kerry Owens was born July 4, 1965, in Lubbock, Texas. Shortly after his birth, he and his parents left the plains of West Texas to move to Central Texas, where he lived for 24 years. He regularly misses the bluebonnets, boots, country music, and other things that make that part of the world a wonderful place to grow up. He graduated from Academy High School in Academy, Texas. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in communication studies and journalism and his Master of Arts degree in communication studies from Baylor University in Waco, Texas. He helped finance his education at Baylor by loading trucks and painting during vacations at Ralph Wilson Plastics Company in Temple, Texas. He also worked as a reporter for the Temple Daily Telegram. He has taught as a graduate instructor at both Baylor and Louisiana State University. He has also taught at Central Texas College in Killeen and Hinds Community College-Rankin in Pearl, Mississippi. He is currently an instructor at Mississippi College in Clinton. He lives in Tallulah, Louisiana, with his wife Kathy, two cats, and several fish.


DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Kerry P. Owens

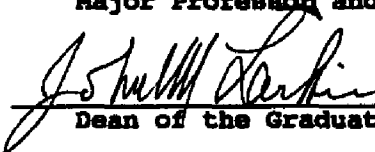
Major Field: Speech Communication

Title of Dissertation: The Dual Voices of The Civil Rights Movement: The Heroic Narratives of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X

Approved:





Major Professor and Chairman




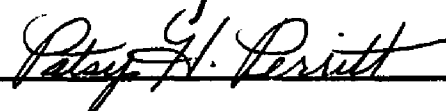
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Date of Examination:

November 30, 1994